BULLETIN ON WAR

ISSUED BY THE SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP

F O R C. C. F. M E M B E R S O N L Y

Vol. I No. 1 Toronto, April 15, 1938.

Special Convention Issue

A DISCUSSION OF THE WAR CRISIS AND C.C.F. POLICY

It may be only a matter of months before the C.C.F. will be put to its most critical test by war. With what concrete policy are we to meet this test? This should be the key question discussed by the provincial convention. The fate of our whole civilization, the lives of millions, rest upon a clear, unequivocal answer to this question, by the socialists not only of Ontario, but of the world.

Today we are on the brink of the second world war, are indeed witnessing the preliminary massacres in Spain and in China. Central Europe is a powder keg. The armament budgets grow fantastically larger. Hitler's program of German expansion as expounded in "Mein Kampf" takes on grim reality. 14 million Austriens are absorbed into the German Fascist state. Poland, learning from Germany, immediately threatens Lithuania with absorption or invasion. Pacts and understandings criss-cross in the secret intrigues of diplomacy. In Central and Southern Europe, the suppressed minorities straitjacketed in artificial boundaries created by the Versailles Treaty, clamour for self-determination.

The Soviet Union, encircled by a ring of hostile steel, finds itself isolated more than ever before. The foreign policies of its totalitarian regime have only succeeded in weakening the international position of Russia. The Moscow Trials, the unceasing purges, the execution of the builders of the Russian Revolution and the leading men in every walk of life, including the general staff of the army, have emboldened its imperialist enemies. But despite the absolutist character of the regime, the socialized basis of economy established through the great October revolution of 1917, still remains. It is therefore the duty of all socialists to defend these gains against imperialist attack, while recognizing that the Stalinist leadership itself weakens and endangers this defence.

Once again workers are being called to lay down their lives for a cause which is not theirs, which brings only slaughter, destruction and mass misery in its wake. Under these circumstances, the responsibility laid on the leaders of the labor movement is tremendous. The working class must have a party which will fight the war with deeds, not merely with words:-- a party which will make war forever impossible by destroying the system which breeds it.

In the tragic years of 1914-1918, the Socialists of the world, with the exception of a scattered handful of Internationalists, failed miserably to meet their responsibility and promises. Instead, they fell prey to jingoism, called off the struggle against the capitalist system, and lined up solidly behind "their" respective imperialist governments. However, these people had the slight merit, if you will, of supporting the war only after it began. Prior to its outbreak, they had been ardent pacifists, had even boldly threatened to call general strikes if war were declared.

What shall we think then of the political programs of the Second and Third Internationals today, who lack even this grace?

By espousing Collective Security, Popular and National Fronts, they have indicated their policy of union with the capitalist class even before the outbreak of general war. British and French Labor parties are frankly imperialist and patriotic, prepared to participate in National Governments to conduct war for "collective security". Trade Union leaders are already conferring with government spokesmen, preparing to place industry at the disposal of the General Staffs of the armies. The French Stalinists have repeatedly voted war credits for the French army. American Stalinists ardently support Roosevelt's billion dollar armament program, shoved through at the expense of relief and social services. Moreover, they fought bitterly the Ludlow amendment to the constitution which would have forced the president to call a national referendum, before declaring war. Here in Canada, the Stalinists call ceaselessly upon the government to enter into an alliance again in the name of collective security. Small wonder that the imperialists plunge headlong into the armament race, intrigue and jockey for favorable alignments in the war, with little fear of being embarrassed by civil strife at home!

We socialists in the C.C.F., who pay more than lip service to workers' internationalism, who are undying enemies of world capitalism, must draw the true lessons from these events. Learning from them how NOT to fight war, we will then be able to take up the responsibility entrusted to us, of leading the struggle through to the establishment of socialism.

What are the real causes of imperialist war? They lie in the very nature of the capitalist system. Whether Fascist or "democratic", because of its profit driven planless economy, every capitalist state becomes cramped within its obsolete national boundaries. It must seek abroad for colonies, markets, sources of cheap raw materials, and spheres of influence for capitalist investments, in order to live and continue to compete in the world market, even at the expense of war. WAR IS THUS THE LOGICAL CONTINUATION, BY OTHER, MORE VIOLENT MEANS, OF THE PEACE-TIME POLICIES OF CAPITALISM.

Today capitalism is in a state of general crisis and decay. There are no new worlds for it to conquer, only redivision of the old, by machine-gun and bomb. That is why any war undertaken by the great powers today is a reactionary war, counter to the interests of the masses -- whatever the political forms of the warring countries, whatever the immediate cause. For the motives of the belligerents are the same on both sides--the drive for profits and for economic power. That is why it is so dangerously misleading to attempt to differentiate between aggressor and non-aggressor nations. When all persist in holding flaming torches to the powder-barrel, who can say that only one is responsible for the explosion? And that is why it is criminal to seek to choose between democratic "peace-loving" and Fascist "war-hungry" capitalism. For the despoiled victim, there can be nothing to choose between the robbers who "have" and the robbers who "have not". As for democracy, it is a luxury that is lightly dispensed with by the ruling classes in times of crisis. With the declaration of war will come once more the complete extinction of the democratic rights of free speech, press

and assembly in England, France and America, and the institution of military dictatorships, the plans for which have already been drawn in detail.

Can all this be prevented by the methods of pacifism, conscientous objection, refusal to fight? No -- these are the blind romantic illusions of the ostrich who sticks his head in the sand. In this day of conscription, concentration camps, and high-pressure salesmanship through screen, radio, press, church and school,-- all of which are controlled by the capitalist class and left untouched by the program of the pacifists -- we observe a sad tendency for most of today's pacifist objectors to become to-morrow's best patriots. By ignoring the real causes of war, and diverting popular attention from really effective means of combatting it, pacifism is as dangerous as it is futile. It performs a valuable service to those who wish to keep the people ignorant.

Similar arguments hold against the isolationists who wish to "Keep Canada Out of War". They fail to recognize how inextricably a part we are of world economy, incapable of living to ourselves and of remaining unaffected by trends and events abroad. When war breaks out Canada cannot remain aloof any more than she did in the last war. The pressure of several billion dollars worth of British and American capital invested here will see to that, not to mention "native" enterprise. More appeal to the government to stay out of war is about as effective as an appeal to the self-restrain of a crazed drug addict. Capitalism, likewise, cannot help itself. Equally with the pacifists, the isolationists serve the war-makers by concealing the true state of affairs and by teaching the people to rely on the government rather than on their own organization and strength.

While we socialists are unalterably opposed to all wars of imperialism, "democratic" or fascist, at the same time we are duty bound to materially support all struggle and wars of a progressive character, e.g., the present war of Chinese independence against Japanese imperialism and the war against Franco, however critical our socialist approach must be to the shortcomings and mistakes of their leadership. Independent class struggle action is a tremendous step forward to the real struggle against war, which can only be the overthrow of the system which breeds it. The C.C.F. must organize and support such action with all sections of the labor movement. In the present period the following slogans can act as a rallying cry for all the genuine opponents of war:

NOT A CENT FOR WAR -- USE THE CANADIAN WAR BUDGET FOR SOCIAL SERVICES

STRIKE TO STOP SHIPMENTS TO JAPAN

WORKERS BOYCOTT OF JAPANESE GOODS

ARMS AND MUNITIONS FOR CHINA

DOWN WITH IMPERIALISM -- WHETHER "DEMOCRATIC OR "FASCIST"

COLLECTIVE SECURITY MEANS COLLECTIVE WAR

FIGHT CHECKS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

MEET THE FASCIST MOVEMENT WITH WORKERS DEFENCE ORGANIZATIONS

WORKERS! FARMERS! RELY ON YOUR INDEPENDENT CLASS ORGANIZATIONS

NO COLLABORATION WITH THE CAPITALISTS AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

THE MAIN ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY

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Issued by Socialist Policy Group -- April 15, 1938

Chairman: Jas. Gill, 305 High Park Ave., Toronto; Junc. 1946.
Secretary: David Easton, 468 Markham St., Toronto; Lom. 2448.

(FOR C.C.F. MEMBERS ONLY)

S O C I A L I S T P O L I C Y G R O U P

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

F O R C. C. F. M E M B E R S O N L Y

The Socialist Policy Group is a voluntary educational body of C.C.F. members whose purpose is the discussion and clarification of vital questions of policy within the organization. In the present situation, with a general war rapidly approaching, it is imperative that the C.C.F. hammer out principled fighting policies on this and related questions, if it is not to be swept aside in the maelstrom of events as were the Socialist parties in 1914. The major purpose of the Group will therefore be the encouragement of vigorous and constructive political criticism within the C.C.F. which will speed the development of class-struggle socialist policies adequate to meet the stern battles that lie ahead of the organization.

The Group has already made available to members of the C.C.F. the results of its first discussions, in the form of a bulletin on the war question. It intends to deal similarly with other vital questions immediately affecting the party, such as how to fight fascism in Canada, electoral and parliamentary policies of the C.C.F., how to safeguard democracy within the party, the relation of socialists to trade union and unemployed work, our attitude toward the Popular Front and the L.R.A., the international policy of the C.C.F. especially in regard to Spain, China and Russia, etc. All interested members of the C.C.F. are invited to participate in these discussions and extend them to wider circles of the membership, and so help to arm the party for the critical struggles to come.

Chairman: Jas. Gill, 305 High Park Ave., Toronto; Ju.1946
Secretary: David Easton, 468 Markham St., Toronto; Lo.2448

Vol. I No. 2. Toronto, April 25, 1938.

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S O C I A L I S T A C T I O N

Organ of

THE SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP

For C.C.F. Members only

CONTENTS

1. C.C.F.AND TRADE UNIONS
2. THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL HOLDS A CONVENTION

Toronto, Ont. (Vol. No. 3 - ed.) June 15, 1938

II THE C.C.F. AND [illegible] TRADE UNIONS

The C.C.F. is the political party of the workers in this country. It must rest on the solid base of the workers organized in the trade union movement, or be doomed to an ineffective parliamentary machine, incapable of solving the major problems of the day. However, the problem of trade union work has in the past occupied a small part of the deliberations of our party. A consciousness of this lack, with the subsequent desire for organized and widespread trade union activity is reaching ever larger circles of the membership. In the first place, very little trade union work is conducted through the party. What little is carried on, is disorganized and more specifically, not tied up with the political work of the C.C.F. Prominent trade union functionaries promenade with C.C.F. cards in their pockets in order to enhance their personal prestige in the unions, and yet are not subject to a line of action, or to the discipline of a trade union department. These are but a few examples of the glaring need for a re-organized approach and method of trade union work.

In sharp contrast to this, is the trade union work of the Stalinist party, which, apart from its reactionary program, which is not being discussed here, at least has the merit of a cohesive and disciplined approach to this work. The precision with which its members and sympathizers act in pursuance of its policies in the councils of the union movement exposes the complete lack of organization and policy of the trade union members of our party. A step in the right direction has been taken by the formation of trade union committees but this is not enough. There must be a co-ordinating policy and a thorough understanding of the trade union movement among our membership.

For this reason we must face the fact that at its inception, when there was great enthusiasm amongst the workers for the new socialist party which had entered the political life of this country, the C.C.F. lost valuable time in penetrating and consolidating its position in the trade union field. This was not due to lack of enthusiasm or sincerity on the part of the working class elements in the party, but to the preponderance of opportunist and middle class elements in the party leadership. The MacPhails and Phillpots, seeking soft berths in parliament, advocated the theory that the party was the political voice of the masses and all that was necessary was for the workers to vote these ladies and gentlemen into parliamentary berths and they would make this voice heard. They held that the conditions of working class could be alleviated only by the advent of a C.C.F. government which would proceed to organize socialism. Therefore there was no need for the party to bother its head about organizing economic organizations of the working class.

These ladies and gentlemen have gone their way, and the last remnants of their theories must be weeded from the party ranks. Common sense and events in Europe have proven that since the whole organization of the nation is in the hands of the capitalist class, not one step can be taken towards socialism by a labor party, except if it has behind it, willing and able to fight

for it, the economic organizations of the workers. Only a fool believes that economics and politics are things apart. Politics are concentrated economics. Without minimizing the necessity for winning the middle class and farmer to the socialist cause, it must be clearly understood that the working class alone will be able to LEAD us to socialism. This can be achieved only by the party having organized behind it, in their economic organizations, the great majority of the toiling and unemployed masses. The most important of these economic organizations are the trade unions.

The trade union is the elementary organization of the working man. It embraces men of all faiths and creeds. In the trade union there should be no discrimination because of politics. Every worker has the right to enjoy membership in an organization which is his only weapon for the right to live. In these days of capitalist crisis the backward member of the union soon learns to be class-conscious. In his fight to combat the ever-sharpening drive of the capitalist class to push down the living standards of the workers he soon learns that he has not only his own boss to fight but the glib politician whom he helped to put in power with his vote, and all the armed forces which the politician can command. He quickly learns that the whole modern state is organized in the interests of his capitalist master and will follow the party which fights for his interests and can show him the way to liberation from exploitation and to economic security. Every C.C.F.'er should be a trade unionist and an active organizer for the trade union movement.

But to belong to the trade union is not enough. It is necessary to understand the role of the trade union movement in this country. The movement here has been built in the craft set-up. Long before a political party of the working class appeared the skilled workers banded themselves together to protect their earning power.

In the day and age when craft unions were formed it was a progressive step. But with increased mechanization, craftism is losing its importance. Every industry is using unskilled workmen to run the complicated machines which have replaced the older mechanics. The scientific advance of the machine has left in its wake an army of unemployed unskilled and skilled workmen. It is the duty of the C.C.F.'er in the union to point this out to his fellow unionists and to insist that if the standard of living of his trade is to be preserved it is necessary to support the struggle of his unemployed brothers to maintain the living standard of the class as a whole.

It is necessary to point out that the particular craft to which the union man belongs is becoming of less and less significance and that in each industry, the living standards of all can be maintained only by the formation of a broad industrial union embracing all workers in the plant.

To the union man, as to all of us, the question of war is of prime importance. That war is imminent all are agreed. Today, in the face of this approaching catastrophe, the ruling class is making use of the false war-mongering theory of the Stalinist party that the struggle is between fascism and democracy. Both fascism and democracy are forms of capitalist suppression. The difference lies in the technique of this suppression. When the capitalist crisis reaches such a pitch that the workers will no longer be subjugated under democracy, capitalism gives up the luxury of democracy and under the name of fascism displays its naked dictatorship. The deepening of the crisis brings both fascism and imperialist war. Therefore fundamentally, the struggle is not one between democracy and fascism, which are varieties of the dictatorship of capitalism, but a struggle between boss and workers, a struggle between capitalism and socialism.

In the union movement, the C.C.F. should conduct a positive fight for trade union unity. The A.F. of L. the A.C.C. of L., the C.I.O., the C.F. of L., and the Catholic unions should be brought into one trade union center, and the policy of the C.C.F. trade unionists should be developed towards that end. Democracy in the union movement is naturally a prime prerequisite for this. Joint collaboration of the various unions in dealing with the government, in strike action, in fighting reactionary governmental measures, etc., is a healthy step forward towards the realization of this unity. This is being done in Quebec where the A.F. of L. and the Catholic unions have formed a joint board to deal with the provincial government.

The formation of progressive groups, organized around a militant program of action, which will seek to combat the conservative class-collaboration elements in the union, should be a prime task of the C.C.F. It must be clearly recognized and stated that the Stalinists have long ceased to play a progressive role in the unions, and are now the worst type of war-mongers with their policy of collective security, not to mention their line of ingratiating themselves with the leading functionaries. The narrow national outlook of all Canadian unions must be broadened to a realization of the international class struggle and the resultant need for international affiliation.

The recent Ontario convention displayed an utter lack of understanding of the role of the C.C.F. towards the union movement. Delegates present, including the national secretary, David Lewis, objected to guiding unions even on political questions, because it might be resented as undue interference. This conception is false and reactionary. Of course we must interfere in the economic struggles of the workers and the organizational expression of such struggles, the union movement. This position of non-interference is the remnants of middle-class ideology in our ranks. It is our duty to root this out, if we are to be a truly working class party. Trade union bureaucrats may object

to our initiative and aid in class struggle activity; they may object to our rallying, for example, the dock workers and longshoremen against handling Japanese goods and striking to prevent shipments to Japan. But in this way we shall win the class-conscious workers to our ranks, who will see in us a truly socialist party. And it is they in whom we are interested -- not the functionary and bureaucrat.

To summarize, the Socialist Policy Group fights for:

1) Disciplined and organized trade union work.
2) Militant and progressive policies for the unions.
3) Unity of employed and unemployed workers.
4) Trade union unity.
5) Anti-war policies in the unions on a class struggle basis.

THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL HOLDS A CONVENTION

The recent convention of the Ontario C.C.F. was surely the most farcical in the history of our party. With the exception of a North Spadina resolution on the Chinese war, not a single one of the pages of political resolutions submitted by the clubs was read, debated, or voted on at this "conference". Instead, the delegates were forced to spend two days in quibbling over petti-fogging amendments to the by-laws, listening to endless reports and to liberal-propaganda speeches by Chairman Mitchell. Then without any decisions being taken as to the political policies of the party, the election of the "new" Provincial Council was rushed through and the conference adjourned, amidst the protests of the rank-and-file delegates.

From start to finish the convention was in the grip of a Provincial Council machine which utilized its separate bloc-vote (20%) and the manouevring skill of the chairman, to vote itself back in and prevent votes on anything else of importance.

Why did this happen? BECAUSE THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL HAS NO POLICY TO OFFER THE MEMBERSHIP and fears that its political emptiness will be exposed if controversial resolutions are debated in conference. Regional conferences throughout the province should be convened immediately to discuss the supressed resolutions. The executive of the Toronto Regional Council should convene immediately a delegate's conference to vote on the resolutions, after a thorough discussion open to the membership. Clubs have already passed resolutions demanding a regional conference. For a clear policy on the trade union question, Popular Frontism and the IRA, the way to fight imperialist war, fascism at home, etc. ON TO THE TORONTO REGIONAL CONVENTION AT ONCE!!!

FOR C.C.F. MEMBERS ONLY.

SOCIALIST ACTION

Contents: (1) A reply to the Provincial Executive.

(2) An Action Program for the C.C.F.

Published by Socialist Policy Group.

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Toronto, October-1938.

ON GUARD FOR THE DEMOCRACY OF THE PARTY!

Late in June, (just when many clubs close down for the summer) the Provincial Council addressed an open letter to the Socialist Policy Group demanding its dissolution. This action was taken without previous investigation or hearing and was followed a couple of weeks later by an ultimatum to liquidate or else get out. The reasons of this curt demand, as stated in the open letter, are ostensibly of an organizational nature. The SPG is charged with being a dual organization within the CCF; it will lead to the formation of other groups within the CCF; the party will be divided in factional strife, etc.

Recognizing the thinness of its arguments for such a drastic demand, which not only threatens our unity but our inner party democracy, the provincial council was compelled, in a more or less aside manner to state the reason for its uncalled for attack against the left wing. The SPG uses a revolutionary phraseology which is counter to the spirit and constitution of the party, as interpreted by the right wing Provincial Council. THIS IS THE REAL CHARGE AGAINST THE LEFT. ITS REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS ARE CHALLENGED BY THE METHODS OF SUPPRESSION. "Shut up or get out" - that is the real essence of the charge.

The Socialist Policy Group refuses to agree with this befogging of the issue by the Provincial Council. As in the past, so now it stands up and says what is. We will not have the party split on an organizational manoeuvre. The unity of the party is vital to us and we will fight to maintain it. But more important, above all else is our right to think, our right to speak within the party. If this right is taken from the membership, the party becomes a vulgar imitation of Stalinist absolutism without the necessary police power to silence its members, except through expulsion. THIS IS THE REAL ISSUE: THE RIGHT OF LOYAL INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS TO THINK FREELY AND TO PRESENT THEIR IDEAS TO THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

There is no charge of a violation of discipline; the Provincial Council has not and cannot quote any clause or by-law of the Constitution that has been violated. The members of the SPG are loyal party members, with a record of active work behind them. They have and do abide by the discipline and constitution of the party. It is the Provincial Council that is disloyal to the C.C.F. and all that socialism stands for when it threatens to padlock freedom for organized expression of new ideas by loyal members. The program of our party is not an old testament which cannot change. Every loyal party member has the right to his ideas and the expression of them in an organized fashion within the party. THIS RIGHT IS NOW BEING TAKEN AWAY FROM THE MEMBERSHIP.

If threats of expulsion start with the Socialist Policy Group, it is because the leadership has no effective POLITICAL answer to the proposals of the SPG. As long as the Party's leadership follows confused political policies and has no clear cut socialist program to offer the membership, inevitably groups will emerge from the rank and file advocating new policies around which a strong leadership and united party can be built. THe SPG. is such a group. Its loyalty to the party is attested by the fact that it was formed openly before the eyes of the membership and did not hold secret meetings and utilize underhand manoeuvres as is characteristic of the right wing and Stalinist stooges within our movement. As long as a group is loyal - and no charge of disloyalty has or can be levelled against the SPG - it has every right to express its opposition within the movement to our lenderless leadership.

This program is attached herewith, for distribution to party comrades only. Before this, bulletins on war and on the trade union question were distributed. THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL CANNOT GAINSAY THE POLITICAL CLARITY, FORESIGHT AND CORRECTNESS OF THESE IDEAS, and therefore is undertaking a surgical operation to get rid of opposition incompatible with its self-satisfied, policyless leadership.

For some time a growing dissatisfaction against the Ontario leadership has been brewing. The alarming membership decline from year to year indicates discontent amongst the membership; comrades are beginning to question the program of our party. Many of them merely record their dissatisfaction by leaving. Others complain. We propose corrective measures of a political nature -- a clear answer to the burning questions of the day. We propose that our party speak up to the masses; the truth and nothing but the truth. The masses won't be frightened of revolutionary solutions to their problems of life and death. Only the smug and self-satisfied are guilty of this fear.

FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE PARTY!

OPPOSE THE BUREAUCRATIC THREATS OF EXPULSION BY THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL!

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION FOR ALL LOYAL SOCIALIST TENDENCIES!

Socialist Policy Group.

A NATIONAL PROGRAM FOR THE C.C.F.

The SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP presents a program to end the isolation and decline of the C.C.F., a program to link socialist theory with the real immediate needs of the Canadian masses.

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1. Why the C.C.F. Does Not Grow

The times are ripe for socialism. In Canada, as everywhere, capitalism is permanently mired in the bog of its own creation. Unemployment increases, poverty, undernourishment and sickness spread, prices rise and wages sink. The crisis of 1929 has never ended and now, as in the U.S.A., drags the people into even deeper depths of misery. The King government and the Hepburn-Duplessis autocrats can answer depression only with repression, like capitalists everywhere. The CIO is persecuted, all trade unions threatened, civil liberties curbed, and money flows freely only into the industries of war. Canadians, still tied to the treacherous imperialist government of England, are being sucked into the bloody whirlpool of the coming war.

Yet the Canadian masses remain outside the ranks of socialism. Why? Why do the fascists of Quebec grow, why does the Arcand organization extend itself over Canada, while the C.C.F. marks time in B.C. and dwindles in Ontario? Why are capitalist parties still returned to power by pauperized prairie farmers? It is because Canadian socialism has not yet learned how to bridge the gap between the political backwardness of the masses and the advanced decay of Canadian capitalism. The workers and farmers are in desperate need of the necessities of life, of guaranteed living standards, of markets for what they produce, and the power to buy for themselves what they need; work on the one hand and freedom from wage-slavery on the other. These needs can now be satisfied only through a socialist workers' government. Only a socialist party able to present a concrete program of action, with slogans adapted to the immediate needs of the masses, can become such a government. The C.C.F. must change from a vague party of polite abstractions into a military party with a detailed realistic policy if it is to lead Canada through the present transitional period into socialism. It must really prepare for "Socialism in our time".

2. WE SHOULD CHAMPION COMPLETE CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE.

Within the Dominion there is a conflict between the desires of the wealthy in Ontario and Quebec to remain free of dominion responsibilities and the needs of the poorer provinces for national relief and labor legislation. The Rowell Commission now investigating this conflict is powerless to do anything, whatever its findings. The C.C.F. should make it clear that the real struggle is not between provinces or between west and east, but between the wealthy few and the needy millions. But since this struggle is at present bound up with dominion-provincial relations, the C.C.F. is correct in advocating the amendment of the B.N.A. Act to allow the dominion to legislate for a "new deal". At the same time it should warn the workers that only through their own government can they make such legislation mean anything.

The Privy Council in England has still the right to veto Canadian legislation and steadily uses that power to encourage the Hepburns and the other provincial sectionalists to dodge national responsibility. The Canadian workers and farmers need complete freedom from the Privy Council. We must advocate abolition of all Privy Council powers to interfere in Canada.

3. AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR; FOR SOCIALIST DEFENCE.

The recent "foreign policy" resolution adopted at Edmonton simply rehashes the vague phrases of the Regina Manifesto about Canada "freeing herself from her present commitments" and then adds contradictory verbiage calling for support of a"collective security"and a "properly organized League of Nations". So long as all nations but one remain capitalist there can be no League of Nations "properly organized" to advance the cause of workers and farmers in Canada or any other country. The C.C.F. must openly oppose all policies which will allow Canadians to be butchered to save capitalism, whether disguised as a ghostly League, war of righteousness, a fight for the undemocratic "democracies", or tricked up as a defense of the British "homeland". The C.C.F. only asks that Canada should have the "right to freedom of action in case of war". As a socialist party the C.C.F. should declare that any war into which Canada may be drawn by its capitalist government will be a war in which our workers and farmers will gain nothing and lose everything. Even in the improbable event of invasion of Canada only a workers and farmers government can be trusted to defend the homeland in the interests of the masses. And even this defense will be futile unless the Canadian toilers have the support of their brothers in the U.S.A.

The C.C.F. should honestly acknowledge that Canada is a weak country which in war time would be secured from invasion only by the military strength of America. The C.C.F. should use this fact to emphasize the common destiny of the U.S. and Canadian worker, the need for common labor organization in both countries, and the eventual perspective of a united workers and farmers government in a unified socialist North America. The C.C.F. should advocate the complete political, legal and military separation of Canada from the British Empire. Finally it should put teeth into its advocacy of isolation from American and British imperialist wars by calling for workers action to prevent the shipment of war materials from Canada to warring capitalist powers. Instead of playing about with boycotts of silk stockings, the C.C.F. should be explaining daily to the trade unions the far more effective tactic of refusal to handle, load or transport war commodities such as nickle, which Japan draws almost entirely from Canada.

So long then as capitalism rules in Canada the C.C.F. should advocate

NOT A CENT, NOT A MAN, FOR IMPERIALIST WAR.
WORKERS' STOPPAGE OF SUPPLIES TO JAPAN and FRANCO.
TRANSFER THE WAR BUDGETS TO PUBLIC WORKS.

Since, however, the C.C.F. advocates a socialist government for Canada it must be prepared to defend that government against attack from without as well as from within. To guarantee that defense will be in the interests of the toilers it must also be in their hands. The C.C.F. should begin now to campaign not for pacifist abolition of war industries, not simply for nationalization, as it does now, but for nationalization UNDER WORKERS CONTROL. That is, the workers must be given the lead to take over the armament factories, the nickle and copper mines, etc. and run them, so that no supplies will go abroad to feed capitalist wars, so that supplies may be sent instead to support the progressive struggles of the Spanish Loyalists, the Chinese, Arabs and other exploited colonials, and so that Canadian workers may be ready to assist the Russian workers' state whenever it is attacked. Likewise the Canadian army must be democratized if it is to protect the future Canadian socialist state. The C.C.F. should place before the government the alternatives: Either abolish the Canadian army or make it a workers' and farmers' army. Elect all officers from the ranks. Take the army away from capitalist control.

All military commitments by the government must be confessed. The disgraceful situation in which a federal C.C.F. member recently involved himself by refusing to make public his information as to Canadian military commitments in Europe must not recur. Socialists have no loyalty to the secret diplomacy of capitalist governments. By such secrecy the workers are betrayed.

PUBLICATION OF ALL MILITARY & ECONOMIC COMMITMENTS
NO MORE IMPERIALIST ALLIANCES FOR CANADA
ARMS AND ARMIES ONLY IF CONTROLLED BY WORKERS
DEMOCRATIZE THE MILITIA
TOWARDS A UNITED STATES OF SOCIALIST AMERICA

4. wWORKERS' EXPROPRIATION, NOT CAPITALIST "NATIONALIZATION"

The C.C.F. policy as regards internal affairs must also become at once more bold and more specific.

(a) The socialist answer to the agitation for railroad unification, which is at present only a move by the CPR to increase its profits, is EXPROPRIATION of the private interests in both railroads and operation of an amalgamated rail system UNDER WORKERS CONTROL. Only in this way can the lay-off of thousands be prevented, wage rates protected, shorter hours instituted and the railroads operated without the piling up of public debts to pay high interest to wealthy bondholders. Expropriation does not mean confiscation; any aged or infirm who now depend for a living upon railroad bonds can be guaranteed protection under federal old age and sickness benefits. If any able-bodied stockholders and high-salaried officials can offer genuine technical assistance, they may do so -- at trade union rates. What is intended is not"indemnification" and vengeance but socialization, the elimination of super-profits to the few at the expense of ruinous freight rates to the farmer and the passing of rich natural resources into private hands. Railway rates will be set not by St. James Street but by joint councils of the railway unions and the farmers' cooperatives.

(b) As with the railroad problem, so with the other glaring examples of parlysis in our economy, only a bold program of WORKERS CONTROL can meet even the immediate needs of the masses and prepare them for the establishment of socialism. The Regina Manifesto and the Edmonton resolutions talk vaguely of "planning commission" and "economic advisory boards" "free from day to day political interference". This is not the language of class-conscious socialists. Sound planning can be based only on the knowledge the workers themselves provide in their own factory committees and it can be implemented only by a workers' socialist government.

(c) The Hydro Enquiry has heard evidence pointing to the fact that although in theory the Ontario Hydro System is a publicly owned institution, it has been used deliberately in the interests of the power barons of St. James Street. An immediate demand must be: WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY. The electrical power systems of every province should be made into one system under the control of workers' committees. Put an end to the milking of Canadian economy by the power barons! Demand that the government expropriate the power industry and turn it over to workers committees.

A UNIFIED RAILWAY UNDER WORKER'S MANAGEMENT.

WORKERS CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY.

5. THE C.C.F. & THE FARMER.

Although the C.C.F. has shown some growth on the prairies, its support comes rather from the middle-class and worker of the small town than from the more impoverished sections of the population. The drouth-stricken farmer and the miserably-paid hired man have not yet generally been drawn away from the mirage of Social Credit or from panicky dependence on the old-line capitalist parties. The C.C.F. has failed to consolidate its gains with the farmers because it has not sufficiently distinguished its policies from those of the capitalist parties. Like them it talks about credit reform, banking control and the like and sow illusions that "nationalization" of the banks will in itself solve the financial problems of the farmers.

The C.C.F. should frankly tell the farmers that there is for them no separate and independent road to freedom from mortgage sharks, bank interest, high machine prices and high freight rates. These are evils of capitalism which only a socialist state can remove. Sectionalist legislation which tinkers with tariffs at the expense of the city worker and the consumer generally are to be opposed. The C.C.F. should end its policy of conciliation with anti-labor fallacies entertained by the established farm interests. It should tell the farmers plainly that only a strong working-class can wrest the railroads and banks from private capital and operate them for the benefit of the toilers and the farms and in the cities alike. The proletariat is, even in Canada, larger and of course more concentrated and strategically placed than the farming class. The proletariat must give the lead, and the C.C.F. should keep itself predominantly a workers' party in membership and policies.

Nevertheless the Canadian worker is in need of farmer solidarity. How are the two progressive forces to be brought into one coherent force? One method is the utilization of existing farm organizations, selling cooperatives, etc., to secure collaboration with trade unions, consumers' cooperatives, etc. in the city on immediate issues affecting both. Agreements for an upward sliding wage scale, for example, could be drawn up only with the aid of farmer bodies. Collaboration should be extended. The C.C.F. should advocate a farmer-labor plan for the production of agricultural machinery at cost. Such a plan must involve (a) workers' control of agricultural-machine factories (b) workers control of railroads. (c) sale and shipment of machines to the farms at cost. In return the farmers receiving such machinery would agree to supply their farm products at cost to the trades unions and consumers cooperatives. By such methods solidarity of the working farmer and the city worker can be created, without which a socialist government could be starved out by reactionary big-farm interests in the first days of socialist legislation.

The C.C.F. must be careful also to clarify its attitude to the farmers. Although considering them of necessity second-line forces, they must nevertheless be careful not to frighten farmers into the ranks of fascism with talk of land-socialization. The C.C.F. proposes not to socialize the land of the small farmer (i.e. at least 80% of the farmers) but to rescue their land from the banks and mortgage companies, guarantee them a decent return by agreements with worker committees, by national crop insurance, freight rates and machinery at cost.

FOR JOINT COMMITTEES OF CITY WORKER & WORKING FARMER
FARM MACHINES & FREIGHTING AT COST BY WORKERS CONTROL
FARM PRODUCTS AT COST TO WORKERS BY FARMER CONTROL

6. FEDERAL WORK FOR THE WORKLESS, AT TRADE UNION RATES

The C.C.F. has failed to organize the unemployed except in insignificant fractions. Its policy remains hazy despite the acuteness of the unemployed problem. What the C.C.F. has failed to emphasize is the tying of unemployed work to trade union organization, and the need for clear and forthright slogans. The unemployed need not only work, but work at union rates, and this provision is equally necessary for the protection of the union worker himself. To provide work for all, there must also be sweeping reductions in the hours of work. The six-hour day and the five-day week are elementary slogans in the campaign creation. Along with the slogans for federal

public works, which the C.C.F. timidly advocates and which should be daily stressed, should go an agitation for a SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS. All the work in hand should be divided among the available workers. Canada can provide not only more work but work for all, and the more who work the less each will need to work. By such agitation too, the worker and the workless will be drawn together into a single group united in their fight for employment and for decent living standards.

CREATE JOBS BY REDUCING WORK HOURS
FEDERAL WORK PROGRAMS AT UNION RATES
FOR THE UNION OF WORKER AND WORKLESS

7. PROTECTION OF WAGE-STANDARDS.

Except in isolated sectors the C.C.F. has also failed to win the trade union movement to its banners. This is not because the workers are not in need of socialism. It is because the C.C.F gives no lead to the unions. C.C.F. leaders solidarize themselves with the T.U. burocracies, instead of giving militant support to the T.U. rank and file. The C.C.F. should boldly take the lead in trade union strategy.

The immediate need of organized labor is protection of its existing standards in a period of growing reaction. Such anti-labor blows as the Padlock Law can be fought only secondarily with legalistic Civil Liberties Unions, and primarily with the organized strength of the workers themselves. Only the threat of extensive strikes in Quebec will now defeat the Padlock Law; without being adventuristic, the C.C.F. must be on the alert to give militant leadership to the harassed workers of Quebec and of other provinces instead of manoeuvring, ef as do the C.C.F. leaders now, always for peaceful compromises at the expense of the union.

Equally threatening to the standards of the workers is the continued rise in prices. Fixed wage-scales are useless against sky-rocketing living costs. The C.C.F. should take the lead now in advocating a SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES. All collective agreements should, without allowing for decreases, insure automatic wage increases with each monthly rise in the price of consumers' goods. The amount of increase would be determined not by the bosses alone, but by committees of owners and workers meeting with consumers' and farmers' cooperatives.

RALLY TRADE UNION STRENGTH TO THE DEFENSE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

STRIKE AGAINST PADLOCK LAWS

RISING WAGES FOR RISING PRICES.

8. HOW TO MAKE DEMANDS "REALIZABLE"

The immediate source of income for work programs, for nationalized industry paying union rates, for old age and sickness insurance, crop insurance, and the like, must be direct taxation of the rich. Money "reforms", inflations, and the like, must be exposed in all their falseness. In order that even the smalldst gains may be made it is now necessary that the Fifty Big Shots of Canadian capital be taxed out of existence. In other words, the workers must be frankly told that even their minimum demands, in this period of bankrupt capitalism, will only be achieved if they are prepared to form a government to socialize wealth and industry.

Under the existing situation small factory owners, taxpayers, etc. may put forward their income figures or their account ledgers to prove that they can pay no more taxes or can provide no higher wages. The workers must be prepared to answer such arguments with the logical socialist answer: either run your business at decent wages and pay out from your profits to finance public make-work schemes, or get out of business. If the capitalists cannot make money, the workers can say; turn the factories over to us; we will run them without the necessity to pay dividends to private "owners".

Realizability" or "unrealizability" is in the given instance, a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery. The socialist state alone can guarantee permanent "realization" of any progressive demands.

EXPROPRIATE THE 50 BIG SHOTS.

9. HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM.

The struggle to preserve and heighten the living standards of the Canadian masses leads inevitably to the formation of organizations which will later play a part in the socialist state. The struggle is one which cannot be conducted entirely within the framework of trade union and political parties. Only 20% of the Canadian workers are now in trade unions and these are divided against each other. The C.C.F. must work actively and unceasingly for trade union unity--not simply as such, but on the basis of rank and file control and progressive politics. The Party should encourage the formation of permanent factory committees, joint committees between different unions in the same area, and seek to extend those committees (which the workers form spontaneously in times of stress) into permanent national councils which could serve as the the bridge to trade union fusion. The creation of such councils would greatly facilitate also the organization of the unemployed with the employed.

Hand in hand with joint councils should go the work of joint defense committees. The picket lines of strikes must become representative of all organized labor; the strike defense committees must be maintained after the strike, linked with similar committees in other parts of Canada and, through trade union solidarity, made into a system of workers' defense guards. This and not Leagues for Peace and Democracy should be the concern of the C.C.F. Only by militant counter-action of the workers can fascist hoodlums be suppressed. The C.C.F. must answer the threat of strikebreakers and red-baiters with the slogan: WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS. Such a defense organization can play also the positive role of a worker-farmer defense system to protect the legislation of a socialist government against the military coups of capitalists.

The C.C.F. should immediately create from its own ranks defense squads, equipped, drilled and trained to meet the fascists on their own ground, to defend the workers' press, their meetings and their picket lines. Let us learn from Oshawa and Sarnia.

MEET THE FASCISTS BLOW FOR BLOW

ORGANIZE WORKERS' DEFENSE

TOWARDS A WORKERS' NATIONAL GUARD.

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Socialist Action

C O N T E N T S

1. The Provincial Executive Holds an Inquisition.
2. Towards a Workers' and Farmers' Government.
3. Canada Must Open the Doors.
4. A Treacherous Election Policy.
5. For A Socialist United States of Europe.

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(p.1)

THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE STAGES A TRIAL

SOCIALIST POLICY GROUP CHARGED WITH CONSTITUTIONAL VIOLATION AS TWELVE LEADING MEMBERS ARRAIGNED.

A dozen members of the S.P.G. were invited to appear before the Provincial Executive on Wednesday, November 16th on the charge of being "a member of, or worker for the S.P.G., an organization which does not conform to the principles, policy, constitution and laws of the C.C.F." The hearing confirmed beyond a doubt our allegation that the Prov. Ex. was attempting to dissolve the S.P.G. because of its revolutionary program. Indeed, some very interesting positions were brought to light by members of the Prov. Ex. in the course of the evening. Messrs. E.B.Jolliffe and A.H.Woods, for example, were quite categorical in their statements that no one had a right to belong to the C.C.F., disciplined member or otherwise, if he differed with any of the principles of the C.C.F.

Despite the fact that an entire group of members was charged with functioning as a group contrary to the interests of the CCF, the Prov. Ex. nevertheless tried to hold an individual inquisition of each member. This was successfully thwarted by the firm stand of the defendants, but only after two comrades had been grilled in private session. The accused members insisted on their right to a common trial, and asked for an open hearing of their case, with CCF'ers given the privilege of attending. This was not even considered by the members of the Prov. Ex., who were anxious to perform the unpleasant task of expelling the left wing behind closed doors.

The Prov. Ex. had only one bit of "evidence" to substantiate its charge, viz., the issue of Socialist Action containing the Program of Action suggested for the CCF. The essence of the evidence was this: Inasmuch as the contents of the paper differs with the program of the CCF, it is therefore unconstitutional and irregular, and cannot be permitted. Inasmuch as the program of the S.P.G. is avowedly in fundamental disagreement with the present CCF program, it has no right to exist within the organization. Inasmuch as the individual members of the S.P.G. do not agree with the present program of the CCF, they have no right to membership. Jolliffe contended that these differences were fundamental, and therefore there was no doubt as to the stand of the Prov. Ex. One member of the S.P.G. offered to plead guilty in writing to this charge of having fundamental ideological differences with the P.E., if the charge in turn was submitted in writing. The Prov. Ex. conveniently declined to take advantage of this offer, and suggested that their statements were not charges, but merely "evidence".

Leavens, of Woodbine club, on the other hand, was not so brazen in his stand, however equally bureaucratic in essence. He maintained that while it was quite legitimate for revolutionaries to function as C.C.F. members, they nevertheless had no

right to form a group, and that this latter, constituted in his opinion, a violation of discipline. We pointed out in reply that in reality several groupings functioned in the CCF. In the first place there was the New Commonwealth group, publishing a paper which is not the official organ of the CCF, and which at times opposes official CCF policy before the public, as for example, a recent article favoring an isolationist position for Canada, when the summer national convention had adopted a confused and garbled resolution favoring collective security in a modified form. A Vancouver group publishing the "Flame", an internal organ containing some splendid revolutionary material, was also cited as a case in point. As long as the policy and program of the CCF was weak and ineffective, so long would groups continue to exist and grow. In this situation left wing groups would play a positive role in the hammering out of a clean-cut revolutionary program for the party. No one doubts that the Stalinists are boring from within the CCF in their insidious manner. The Toronto Regional Council appears to be their most successful stamping ground at the moment. There is only one effective answer to the poison of Stalinism which vitiates the independence and militancy of the labor movement wherever it goes, and that is a revolutionary program, the program of the S.P.G. We are open and above-board in our activity. We are a group, and we champion our right to remain as such. The Prov. Ex. hasn't a single political answer to our program. They make no effort to answer us politically. The reply is the trial itself -- bureaucratic administrative measures - expulsions. They have nothing else to say.

Our comrades stated that this marks the beginning of a totalitarian regime in the party, not one whit different from Stalinism. The S.P.G. disagrees with the P.E., therefore out it goes - that is the position of our "leaders". It is time the membership took a hand in this very serious situation. The S.P.G. repeats before the entire party its demand for an open trial. We ask for a province-wide convention, particularly as there had been no political discussion at the last conference. The Prov. Ex. cited the constitution to the effect that the demand of at least 51% of the clubs was required in order to have that right. We asked for the privilege of addressing an appeal to the Ontario membership, which was denied us. The clause calling for a convention is thus reduced to a mere sham in the hands of the present leadership.

The P.E. says: "You disagree with the program of the CCF, therefore you have no right to belong." We say: "Yes, it is true; we plead guilty to that charge. We are revolutionaries, We have major differences on many of the key questions, War, Fascism, the Road to Power, etc., with the present right-wing leadership. We have never denied this. On the contrary, we have openly fought for these ideas. It is the P.E. who obscures the issue by trying to frame us with a charge of constitutional violation. We have never broken discipline - unless ideological differences and the championing of those ideas within the party are breaches of discipline." Only bureaucrats can claim this to be a violation of discipline and that is the answer of the P.Ex.

the farmer to repay loans in kind, the first claim on farm income to be an adequate living for the man who tills the land--these are but some of the steps which must be taken immediately to assure the farmer land and a living.

To achieve this program, we need a taxation program which will secure sufficient funds to ease the tax burden of the workers, the small home owner and farmer. Let us tear the veil of mystery off taxation! Taxation, at bottom, is the grand strategy whereby the burden of society is placed on one class or another. Municipal taxation is almost entirely taxation of real estate. Thereby the big corporations escape from the full taxation to which they should be subjected. One of the chief tasks of labor [illegible] must be to centralize relief costs and public works financing in the Federal Government so that the small home owners and farmers do not bear the brunt. The burden must be placed on those best able to bear it: the higher incomes and wealthy corporations.

The workers will pass by the CCF if it continues to put forth the old program and phrases proven outworn so many times in the past. What it needs is a clean break with the reformist abstractions in the Regina Manifesto, and the adoption of a concrete program of action that will really answer the basic needs of the exploited and oppressed. Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government, -- by all means. But that is possible only with a program of real demands.

CANADA MUST OPEN THE DOORS!

Half a million German Jews knock at the doors of the world, fleeing in terror from the furious sadism of Nazi reaction. Innocent men, women and children are doomed to physical extermination as the "whipping boys" for the crimes of bankrupt German capitalism. The tragic plight of this minority commands immediation on the part of the Canadian labor movement. There can be no temporizing -- THIS IS A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH! Give the Jews the right of asylum in Canada!

There has been much public weeping and gnashing of teeth on the part of our leading citizens in sympathy with the victims of the terror. Pity is cheap, but the Wailing Wall does nothing to provide a refuge for the homeless. The "democratic" governments of Britain, France and America hope to strengthen their bargaining power against Germany in the post-Munich imperialist negotiations, by pretending to champion the cause of Jewry. Britain, looking for cheap colonial labor for her least profitable outposts of Empire, suggests as a haven the plague-ridden ex-German colonies of Africa, and British Guinia, where it is almost impossible for white men to exist. This ingenious scheme would only mean a slower, more protracted death for the refugees unable to endure the equatorial climate and the rigours of primitive conditions.

The only hope of the Jew is the labor movement of the world

and particularly of the new world. The Canadian, along with the American working class should demonstrate in the streets, by a half-day stoppage of work, their hatred of the Nazi regime, and their sympathy with the terrorized Jews. The trade unions and all working class organizations must form a united front to protest the brutal pogroms, and to force the government to open the doors to the refugees.

Not only is this a life and death question for the Jews--it means strengthening our own labor movement by striking a blow at reaction, both German and domestic.

It can be argued that Canada has its own problems to look after; that free entry of the refugees means taking away jobs from our own workers, and reducing the relief that should go to our own workless. The question of absorbing the refugees into the economy must be tied up with the fight for a broad program of public works, to take care of all the unemployed, both immigrant and Canadian. The hours of work in industry must be shortened, to divide the jobs among all the available workers, with no reductions in pay. The united front of labor organizations must demand that the $50 millions budgetted for national "defence" be turned over to the social services and relief. Further funds necessary can be raised by a tax on the higher incomes and rich corporations.

CANADA MUST OPEN THE DOOR TO THE REFUGEES FROM FASCIST TERROR!

DIVERT THE DEFENCE BUDGET TO SOCIAL SERVICES!

PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS AT TRADE UNION RATES OF PAY FOR REFUGEE AND NATIVE UNEMPLOYED!

SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE WHO SUFFER AT THE HANDS OF FASCISM IS ONE OF THE BEST WAYS OF ESTABLISHING, IN THIS COUNTRY, AN UNBREAKABLE WALL AGAINST THE ADVANCE OF CANADIAN FASCISM.

A TREACHEROUS ELECTION POLICY

Considerable resentment has developed as a result of the recommendation of the Toronto Regional Council for the sponsoring of independent candidates in the Municipal elections. At the last T.R.C. meeting a heated discussion ensued on this and the matter of the Ward IV elections. Delegates from the Ward insisted on their right to contest the aldermanic field if they so desired. David Lewis, Dominion Secretary, by "accident", was on hand to defend the line of the T.R.C. This came as a complete surprise to many present, as heretofore the Prov. and Nat. Ex. had opposed the tendency to water down the socialist character of C.C.F. principles and tactics. It can only be interpreted as a move to the right, now that the left wing has been dealt with in summary fashion. There can be no doubt as to the stand of every genuine socialist in the CCF on this question. Our party must not play the game of bourgeois politics. The program of the party is first and foremost; the man is only a secondary consideration. Socialists must expose this reactionary practice - they must not surrender to it.

FOR A SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

Following is a partial text of a speech delivered recently by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, at the Hotel Center, New York, on "The war crisis in Europe and the meaning of the Munich pact."

"We've always known and we've always said that the capitalist system, sinking ever deeper in decline and decay, is moving steadily by its own inner logic to a new world war. During the recent crisis of European diplomacy we saw this conception come perilously close to concrete realization. During thos days the world stood in the very shadow of catastrophe. If the masses of the world recoiled in horror and grasped at a postponement at any price, if the hands of the imperialists at the last moment trembled -- nevertheless, everybody knows the Munich pact was not a solution; everybody realizes now that it was not salvation, but only reprieve.

The diplomatic crisis around the war that was for the moment averted was only a rehearsal -- and so the world understands it -- of another crisis soon to come which will herald the inevitable outbreak of war. The horrifying experience of the past days is fraught with menace and warning for all the people of our planet. The spectacle of the doomed millions, waiting in agonizing fear for the decision of four diplomats at Munich -- waiting to hear their fate -- is symbolic of their helplessness in the face of unprecedented deception and betrayal.

A lesson in Realism

The capitalist statesmen met in a closed room. They, the realists of imperialist politics, were not in the least concerned with senseless abstractions about peace, honor, justice, democracy, etc. They discussed the redivision of the world from a point of view that was exclusively materialistic. They weighed and measured the prospect of spilling oceans of blood with as much concern for the victims as four matter-of-fact butchers in a slaughter-house. The only friend of the masses in that room, the only warning voice that spoke for peace, was that of an uninvited and invisible guest -- the specter of revolution which could not be exorcised. That is the only real force for peace, for delay, for postponement of war that is left in this mad capitalist world.

The inevitable war that may be postponed but not avoided is the price humanity must pay for the failure of the workers, the progressive class in society, to fulfill their historic mission, for their failure to overthrow the decayed and outworn social system and replace it by socialism. If the coming war is, by all signs, to begin as a new senselss imperialist slaughter, with reactionary fascism on the offensive, it is the result in the first place--and let us never forget it-- it is

the result of the betrayal of the proletariat by the Social Democracy in the last war and in the revolutionary struggles which followed it. In the second place it is the result of the capitulation and betrayal of the German proletariat by the two partners in historic crime, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists.

Masses are Against War

It is important for us, I think, to take note of the main features of the war-shaking crisis which culminated in the Munich Pact. The main outlines are clear enough. The most positive feature of the whole experience was the indubitable opposition of the masses to a new war. This sentiment, as all observers testify, was virtually universal. It manifested itself everywhere in every way that was open to the bewildered masses to express themselves. Even in Germany, where we have been falsely told so often that the fascist war lord rules with the enthusiastic consent of the masses, the newspaper correspondents testify to the profound dread of war which seized the people and their unrestrained joy when it seemed to have been averted.

The spontaneous rejoicing of the masses in all countries was only superficially expressed in homage to the statesmen who had condescended to postpone the conflict. At bottom it was an expression of the profound opposition of the masses of all countries to another war. The terrible experience of the holocaust of 1914-18 with its more than ten million dead and more than twenty million wounded and crippled and maimed, with its hunger and starvation, its innumerable infant victims of malnutrition, its epidemics -- the whole horrifying mess of bloody death and destruction -- all this still lives in the memory of the present generation of humans.

How many lives will a new war cost, now that the instruments of death have been tremendously increased with multiplied efficiency? -- that is the fearful question which was uppermost in the minds of all the inhabitants of our planet as they swayed on the brink of another war. No! It is impossible to arouse any popular enthusiasm for another military adventure. And in the face of this universal sentiment the imperialist masters dread the social consequences of a plunge into the dark unknown.

The Real Face of Democracy

The second feature of the crisis which came to a point at Munich, which ought to enlighten millions who have been duped and doped by false prophets, was the attitude displayed throughout the entire affair, consistently, up to the very end, by the authentic spokesmen of the capitalist democracies. With their own hands they stripped away the veil of illusion and deceit and showed their real class face at Munich. They demonstrated clearly and with brutal cynicism the fact that there is no fundamental difference between democratic and fascist capitalism. The agreements they signed at Munich, and especially

the amiable protocol of amity and good will signed by Chamberlain and Hitler gave a crushing refutation to the liars and deceivers who have taught the masses to stake their heads on British democracy in their struggle against fascism.

The two imperialist camps represented at Munich -- the democratic and the fascist -- showed a common antagonism to the Soviet Union, antagonism to the state that was raised up by the October Revolution; with a gesture of contempt they thrust aside the Stalinist traitors who have served them so well. Years long now, Stalin has courted the favor of the imperialist masters assembled at Munich, but this could not win for him at the decisive moment a nod of recognition or an invitation to the conference. The miserable propaganda of Stalin and his prostituted hirelings in those days amounted to nothing but a whining protest at this ingratitude.

Not enough Yet!

"LOOK,"--THEY SAID IN EFFECT--"LOOK, WHAT WE'VE DONE FOR YOU. WE KILLED A WHOLE GENERATION OF REVOLUTIONISTS IN RUSSIA; WE DESTROYED THE COMINTERN; WE BUTCHERED THE RED GENERALS AND DEMORALIZED THE RED ARMY."

AND THE COLD-BLOODED IMPERIALIST MASTERS ANSWERED BY THEIR ACTIONS: "YOU HAVEN'T DONE ENOUGH YET. YOU HAVEN'T RESTORED THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. THAT IS OUR REAL OBJECTIVE. YOU, BY KILLING THE BOLSHEVIKS, BY ASSASSINATING THE RED GENERALS, BY DISORGANIZING SOVIET ECONOMY AND DEMORALIZING THE RED ARMY-- BY ALL THIS YOU HAVE ONLY MADE IT EASIER FOR US TO ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION TOGETHER WITH HITLER."

The third feature of the diplomatic crisis was the diplomats' fear of the masses, that unknown quantity, that algebraic "X" which cast its menacing shadow over their conference.

The profound anti-war sentiment was known to them. They also have memories of the past war and its unforseen consequences. They recall that it began with England as the dominant world power, buttressed on the east by the empire of the Czar, that historic "mainstay of European reaction." Within two and a half years after the war began, the whole structure of Czarism was in the dust and the mighty upsurge of the Russian Revolution had upset the world balance. In the west the United States, profiting by the dislocation and exhaustion of the European nations, emerged from the war as the first power of the world, relegating England to second place and starting the world-wide empire on the road to dissolution.

What will be the consequences of the next war?--that is the question which paralyzed the hands of the diplomats and disturbed their dreams. Will we lose the war if we win it as before? Will the multiplied efficiency of the war weapons bring crisis and revolution in six months instead of two and a half years? Will the American colossus extend and strengthen its hegemony still more? The ineluctable contradictions of all the capitalist

nations and of the world-system as a whole push them relentlessly to war and yet the statesmen falter and tremble in fear of the unknown.

"But Chamberlain and Daladier are betrayers," whine the Stalinists, who taught the masses to trust the capitalist democracies and their authentic leaders. What a puerile explanation of the collapse of their own policy! Chamberlain and Daladier never promised to defend anything except the imperialist interests of their class. They remained faithful to their class. It is the snivelling Stalinists, the Social-Democrats, and labor fakers of all stripes, who betrayed their class by chloroforming it with the illusion of the Peoples' Front-- that is the partnership of labor with its mortal class enemy.

Stalin's Next Step

What, in the post-Munich world situation, can be the next steps of Stalin? Some naive people - including some superficial newspaper correspondents and columnists - predict a new turn to revolutionary policy on the world arena. Some Stalinist workers, I have no doubt some of them are sitting in this hall tonight, cherish this hope of a treturn to revolutionary activity. They see what they want to see. Many of them are so sich of waving the American flag, and are so hoarse from singing the Star Spangled Banner, that they want to believe it was all a super-clever revolutionary maneuver to deceive the capitalists. Now that the policy has failed so miserably, so catastrophically, they want to believe that there will be a return to revolutionary activity on the part of Stalin and his clique.

Illusion! These people have long since passed over to the other side of the barricades, their hands are red with the blood of innumerable revolutionists. In Russia, in Spain, in France, in Switzerland, in China, in the United States -- on a world-wide scale, they have established themselves irrevocably as the hangmen of the revolution.

STALIN'S NEXT MOVE WILL BE A DIPLOMATIC APPROACH TO HITLER, AND HITLER, IN TURN, WILL TALK BUSINESS. But not on the basis of abstractions, shibboleths, or "principles" --Hitler's principles are as false and phoney as Stalin's, Hitler will demand, and Stalin will offer, concessions, concrete and tangible. A breach in the foreign trade monopoly, which will immediately undermine Russian industry and prepare its collapse? A slice of the Ukraine, as a beginning of the dismemberment of the Soviet Union? To show good faith on the part of Stalin, a new trial, perhaps, new killings? Litvinov's head, as the scapegoat for the discredited policy of alliances with the capitalist democracies? Another purge of the Red Army on which the"disappearance" of Marshal Bluecher will be recorded as an advance payment? Or, proceeding to a drastic solution of the real conflict between the Soviet Union and all the imperialist countries, will Stalin move to a direct attempt to restore private property and open up the Russian market to foreign exploitation?

STALIN WILL FALL

These are the questions which can constitute the only possible basis for rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin. Phantastic, you say. No, the whole course of Stalin has been leading straight to this end. If you read, in the near future, some radical blustering in the Stalinist press, some hints and threats of a new appeal of the working masses of the world, you can understand it as the signal for the preparation of a new drastic turn to the right. Stalin and his clique, long ago, turned their backs on every hope and prospect of world revolution. The bureaucratic caste is concerned only with self-preservation, at any cost.

Stalin, like dictators of the imperialist countries, both democratic and fascist, fears one thing above all -- the masses. And well he may. A DEAL WITH HITLER INVOLVING A BREACH OF THE FOREIGN TRADE MONOPOLY, A CESSION OF SOVIET TERRITORY, OR AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE THE SYSTEM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, MAY VERY WELL BE THE SPARK THAT WILL SET OFF THE REVOLUTIONARY EXPLOSION IN RUSSIA, AND BRING STALIN TO HIS DOWNFALL.

If Hitler, now fully armed and backed by Britain and France, is ready to train the great guns against the Soviet Union, that is the fruit of the betrayal of the German proletariat and the shameful capitulation to Hitler in 1933. In 1932 - before Hitler came to power - Trotsky sounded a prophetic warning. He said that Hitler, once he crushed the German labor movement, and consolidated his internal position on the blood and bones of the workers, would reach an agreement with France and England, and become the spearhead of a new imperialist attack against the Soviet Union. This warning, ignored and derided, like all of the wise words of Trotsky, is now approaching a horrible realization. The responsibility rests exclusively with the betrayers and capitulators, the Stalinists and the leaders of the German Social-Democracy, those swine who even went to the length of presenting themselves in Hitler's Reichstag and offering to collaborate as a loyal opposition.

Whose the Responsibility?

It is the fashion now to blame the German masses for the consolidation of fascism in Germany and the monstrous military aggression of Hitler. Every scribbler, these days, writes about the war spirit of the German masses, their love of obedience, their stupidity, etc. Base calumny! the German proletariat was the most advanced, the strongest, and best organized in Europe. They did not embrace fascism. They were not defeated in battlw. They were abandoned and betrayed. The jingo nationalist policy of Stalinism in France, in England and the other countries of democratic capitalism, left the German workers speechless and helpless to combat the nationalistic spirit propagated by Hitler.

Only Internationalist Voice

The only voice raised for a proletarian policy in the European war crisis was the voice of the Fourth International and its sections. Our comrades in Czechoslovakia - including the Sudeten areas - with unexampled courage, raised the one slogan of reason in the mad welter of capitalist nationalism. In the midst of the crisis, confronted on one side by the Nazi offensive, and on the other by the brutal persecution of the Czechoslovakian police state, they raised the slogan: "NEITHER GERMAN NOR CZECK CAPITALIST NATIONALISM, BUT THE SOVIET UNITED STATES OF EUROPE."

The French section of the Fourth International, the Internationalist Workers Party, reacted to the crisis with terrific energy under the same slogan.

In England, the paper of the Revolutionary Socialist League- the British section of the Fourth International - came out during the week of the acutest crisis with the inspiring slogan of Liebknecht, blazoned across the first page: "Main Enemy is In Your Own Country."

On the very eve of the war crisis, with the prospect of a military explosion at any hour, delegates from all the most important countries, gathered in Switzerland and held the Foundation Congress of the Fourth International. THIS EVENT, THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF WHICH IS BEYOND EXAGGERATION, TESTIFIES TO THE BOUNDLESS REVOLUTIONARY VITALITY OF THE WORLD-WIDE MOVEMENT OF RESURGENT BOLSHEVISM.

In a preliminary test our party responded worthily - that gives us a certain confidence for its future. It also gives us the right to address a brief message to those militants outside its ranks, who are sincerely seeking to work and struggle in an organized manner for socialism. Especially to Stalinist workers, we say: You must study and reflect on the experience, you must regain your proletarian health and sanity. Rid your system of the poison that has been pumped into your veins. And most important of all, get out of the pest-house of deceit and treachery. Leave the traitor party of Stalinism and join with us in building an honest party of revolution.

Everything comes back to the problem of the party, that is the great and outstanding lesson of the past twenty years. Without the revolutionary party, there can be no victory, but if the proletarian vanguard is organized, if it is armed with a correct program, disciplined and trained for struggle and sacrifice, all things are possible. Once the small wheel of such a party is geared into the great wheel of the historic process, the victory of the workers and the regeneration of humanity is assured.

Socialist Action

C O N T E N T S

1. The Expulsions -- A Sign and A Warning.

2. Who Are the Counter-Revolutionaries?

3. Labor Goes to the Polls.

4. Fascism Menaces France.

5. Canadian Fascism Fears the Refugees.

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Socialist Action

(Dec. 1938)

THE EXPULSIONS: A SIGN AND A WARNING

The Provincial Executive still refuses to give those of the left wing who were expelled a chance to defend their position at an open trial before the Toronto membership of the party. No matter what excuses these reformists at the helm of the party may offer, their flat refusal brands them as bureaucrats with no less iron on their heels than Duplessis or Hepburn. By gagging and stamping out the revolutionists in the party, Mitchell, Dennison & Co. are performing a gratuitous service for the R.C.M.P. The red squad would envy the high-handed manner in which the Prov. Ex. bureaucrats kick the left wing out. In essence, the C.C.F. leadership is rehearsing its role of police-agents for the bourgeoisie and (in any crucial perios such as wartime) can be relied on by the Canadian capitalist class to expose and drive out anyone who does not entertain "respectable" reformist ideas. Militants still inside the C.C.F. must rouse themselves against the despicable role that the bureaucracy is playing and declare themselves in favor of the S.P.G., the only socialists who are carrying on the class struggle in Canada on the principles of revolutionary socialism.

The expulsion order handed down by the Prov. Ex. is as irrevocable as a decree from the Kremlin. There is little wonder that the totalitarian Stalinist party through its organ, the Daily Clarion, has lavished unstinted praise on the Prov. Ex. for its action. In fact the Clarion which up to yesterday could have taught the Prov. Ex. something along the line of bureaucracy has only one pitiful complaint: it demands the expulsion of additional Trotskyists. We can be sure that their stooge, Bill Dennison, will take the hint and try to ferret out more left wingers, that is, those who denounce the treacherous policies of the Stalinists and reformists.

The connection between the Prov. Ex. and the Stalinists is only too clear. In the same week that the P. E. rids itself of the only revolutionary tendency in the party, the Toronto Regional Council, with the hearty sanction of the Prov. Ex. decides not to run aldermanic candidates on a C.C.F. ticket in the Toronto municipal elections. The Prov. Ex. cheerfully supported the Stalinist clique on the T.R.C. led by Dennison against running candidates in the name of the C.C.F. The elimination of the left wing from the C.C.F. marks a new phase in the history of the party. The party now threatens to enter a period of gradual capitulation to the Stalinist stooges of the Dennison ilk and through them to the Communist party.

The expulsions are a sign of the political bankruptcy of the C.C.F. leadership and a warning that unless the left wingers still within the C.C.F. rally behind the S.P.G., party democracy will become a right of the remote past.

Follow the examples of Dovercourt and North Humbercrest clubs and demand a trial before the rank and file!

Against heresy hunting, Stalinist stooges and Prov. Ex. bureaucrats! Join the S. P. G.

(2) ?

WHO ARE THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES?

(Some Carrion from the Clarion)

The Daily Clarion of Dec. 5th carried an article which, despite the intentions of its staff, is actually of value to the Canadian working class. Sandwiched between the usual cutey-pictures of Shirley Temple and the legs of bourgeois bathing belles in Florida, there is an account of the expulsion of "Trotsky agents from the C.C.F." The story exceeds even the Clarion's superlative batting average for hypocrisies, libels and lies. Our ten S.P.G. comrades who have been bureaucratically expelled by the C.C.F. Provincial Executive, admittedly because they advocated revolutionary socialism, are said by the Stalinite news-manufacturers to have been fired for "conducting disruptive, pro-fascist propaganda and activities,....advocating measures against the interests of the working people"...etc. The value of the falsehoods lie in their self-exposure of C.P. methods and in the fact that their author cites, as evidence, the very material which proves him a liar.

"Typical of the reactionary and pro-fascist 'policies' advocated by the Trotskyites", says the Clarion, "was that of Sir Edward Beatty -- the amalgamation of the railroads..... This reactionary proposal was cloaked with the revolutionary phrases (sic) that such amalgamation should take place under 'workers' control'". From this very quotation it is obvious that we did not advocate the Beatty plan, unless Sir Edward has recently and unknown to us demanded his own resignation and that of all his bourgeois office-underlings. Anyone taking the trouble to check the only article in which we have discussed the railroad problem --our draft of a revolutionary socialist policy for the C.C.F., Socialist Action No. 4 -- will find that we advocate the precise opposite of Beatty's plan. He wants to absorb the C.N.R. into the C.P.R. We stand for the absorption of the C.P.R. into the C.N.R. by "expropriation without indemnification of the C.P.R. stockholders and C.N.R. bondholders" and management by workers' committees (p.7).

The last point is exactly what makes our program revolutionary -- the Clarion only exposes its ignorance when it surrounds that word with quotation marks -- for it is a point which the workers must gain for themselves and by militant struggle. In contrast, the C.C.F. program, "government control" of both railroads under the existing managements, is not even a "peaceful" socialist policy, but a policy of state-capitalism. And the Clarion's own solution for the railroad problem, where is it? You will find it in the leading editorial of the same issue. It is simply this: we don't want Beatty's program. THERE IS NOT A WORD OF AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY, even of C.C.F. policy, in that editorial. It is simply a rehash of the criticisms we ourselves made in our preliminary appraisal of Beatty. To draw the conclusion is, to the Clarion, Trotskyism-fascism.

Next our Stalinist scribe states that we have been "decrying mass action, mass meetings and unity of the people as a means of exposing and fighting fascism". No evidence is supplied. If by the "unity of the people" is meant unity of the working class with the Liberals and Conservatives in a holy war against the workers of Germany or Japan or any other country, then the Clarion is right. We stand for the unity of the international working-class in the fight to overthrow capitalism; the fight against fascism and war is not another battle but the same fight. And in that fight we have never agitated against, and always for, mass meetings and mass action. We challenge the Clarion to find a word or an action of ours which proves otherwise.

Nevertheless we do not, as does the Clarion, delude the workers with the notion that Leagues for Peace and What Have You will prevent either fascism or war. As the Clarion itself admits we counterpose the necessity for "workers' defence guards, equipped, drilled and trained to meet the fascist bands on their own grounds". The Clarion contemptuously refers to them as "storm troops to combat fascism". Very well, the phraseology is the Clarion's and Hitler's, their disingenuous quotation marks to the contrary, but the idea is ours and that of honest Marxists anywhere. Is it because we advocate workers' defence corps to fight fascism that the Clarion labels us fascist? Apparently, for no other "evidence" is cited.

In view of the fact that our comrades were expelled although it was generally admitted they had not broken party discipline by campaigning outside the C.C.F. organization, it would be interesting to know just how the Clarion got its quotations and pseudo-quotations from our previous bulletin. No one in the S.P.G. is a Stalinist stooge. Perhaps comrade Dennison, stalwart of the Provincial Executive, and leader of the pogrom against all who even think differently from the "line" (what is the line?) might be able to explain. Even he might not be able to explain, however, how the Clarion knew that "a number of others (Trotskyists), who had been called to answer charges, failed to appear". This is simply one of the many items in the Clarion's report which exist only within the sewers of its editors' minds.

The Clarion concludes with at least a half-truth: "a considerable number of Trotskyists are still in the ranks of the C.C.F.", but they are not, O lickspittles from Stalin's army of literary prostitutes, "carrying on provocative counter-revolutionary activities". They will leave that to the Communist Party with its support of imperialist wars and its unscrupulous and police-serving lies against every worker who has the courage to stand up against such policies. Many supporters of revolutionary socialism remain in the C.C.F.; if the present Ontario leadership is allowed to remain, these will be driven out, and as they go the Clarion will continue to fling the mud that only Stalinites can fling. But it will not stick. Revolutionary socialism has survived the attacks of other bureaucrats and traitors, other counter-revolutionaries masking as "friends of the people", and the Fourth Internationalists will survive this, to build the party of Canadian socialism. E.R.

Socialist Action (Dec. 1938)

LABOR GOES TO THE POLLS

In recent years it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between the programs of labor and bourgeois candidates. The deepening crisis of capitalism has made it more difficult for the old parties to pass off the outworn phrases about tax reform and tariff, sound business administration and common sense. The suffering people are compelled to look for a concrete solution to their daily economic problems. The bourgeois parties have found it highly profitably to exploit this sentiment by new programs of apparently drastic social reform, trotted out before the public only at election time. After election day these programs are conveniently shelved and the government continues its more or less "efficient" administration of the affairs of state in the interests of the bourgeois class it represents.

Parallel with this change in election strategy by the ruling interests has developed a noticeably reactionary trend in the approach of working class parties to elections. Labor demands have been so modified in recent years as to be hardly distinguishable from the bourgeois programs. Even the technique, the ballyhoo, the building of personalities as keen leaders, has been taken over by labor groups from the arsenal of bourgeois electioneering. This trend displays itself most clearly in municipal elections, in which the Communist Party and the C.C.F. now participate without political banners, presenting their candidates as good men and true, honest friends of labor, etc., a trick long used by capital to cover the reactionary content of its political program.

Even the program of the "men" has been whittled down to simple middle-class demands. The main slogan in Tim Buck's campaign, for example, calls for a lower tax rate. Stewart Smith champions a democratic tax reform! The basic problem of unemployment is not even mentioned in the preliminary bill-board campaign of the Stalinist candidates. Instead we are told "to make sure this time" (of Tim Buck) in the same way as Controller Fred Hamilton's slogan proclaims: "He gets things done." - whatever that may mean.

In glaring contrast to this form of electioneering is the program of the one revolutionary candidate participating in the municipal elections in Toronto district. William Butterworth, recently expelled from the C.C.F. along with many others for participating in the Socialist Policy Group, is once more contesting the Deputy Reeveship in Ward III of York Township. A sliding scale of working hours for township employees to relieve unemployment; cash relief for unemployed, without compulsory work; township tasks like garbage collecting, etc., to be handled by regularly paid employees instead of reliefees; a graduated assessment tax to relief the small home-owners and to place the burden of cost for municipal services on industry and the wealthy residential districts of Cedarvale and Baby Point; and the transitional demand of "A unified railroad system under workers' control"; -- these are some of the points contained in the election program of the York Township Socialist Policy Group.

Bourgeois lawyers and labor skeptics will say that this program goes beyond the framework of municipal affairs and private property rights. The answer is that the right to live goes beyond the legal structure of capitalism and can be guaranteed only by the revolutionary class struggle. If this program can serve the purpose of putting the masses into motion, then its "realizability" or "unrealizability" will be determined by the struggle itself. For today, in the death agony of capitalism, even elementary labor demands must penetrate beyond existing property relations.

The S.P.G. does not turn its back to elections, nor does it advise the workers to boycott the polls for lack of suitable candidates, and a program that will really answer their needs. We ask the workers to give critical support to ALL LABOR CANDIDATES, by voting for them and trying to ensure their election. Only in this way will the workers realize through their own experiences the utter inability of parliamentarism to solve the basic problems of the oppressed.

H.K.

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FASCISM MENACES FRANCE

Five days prior to the ineffective general strike of November 30th hundreds of thousands of workers had staged spontaneous sit-downs against Daladier's attack on the 40-hour week. Yet on the day called for the strike, barely two millions of the expected five millions responded. Utilities and railways continued to function, communications were scarcely affected and government services carried on normally. There was a very uneven response in industry, stoppages ranging from 10% to 90% effective. Even among the most militant sections of French labor, the seamen and the metal workers, the strike was half-hearted. Now, two weeks after, the workers are in retreat. They still continue sporadic fights, in scattered detachments, to combat the lockouts, the wholesale dismissals and repudiation of labor contracts carried on by the triumphant bosses.

While Daladier hypocritically talks "conciliation", he uses the navy to break the strike of 5,000 seamen at Le Havre. Why have the strikes failed, though the workers have time and again shown their readiness to fight? The reason is that the workers have no revolutionary leadership, but have once again been confused, disorganized and misled by the treacherous labor fakers at their head -- these men who up until now have given unqualified support to Daladier in the Popular Front!

The question at issue in France today is not merely the abrogation of the 40-hour week, or the levying of new taxes at the expense of the workers for "national defence". The issue is -- the continued existence of the organized labor movement as against the capitalist system itself. Daladier and the capitalist class are well aware of this and state it openly. To

Canadian economy could quite easily provide work for them, just as work could be provided for all Canadians. The concern of the capitalists over the fate of the Canadian unemployed, should refugees be admitted is so much hypocrisy. They have never shown any concern about the unemployed in the past. This is just another stunt to dodge responsibility for the fate of these unfortunates .

No, the capitalist state will do nothing for the unemployed or the refugees unless it is forced by the organized strength of labor to do something. Why should the standards of labor suffer from the influx of refugees? Why not the standards of the wealthy class? From their plenty we can take a part for social services. Why should $50 million dollars of wealth produced by the working class be used for "defense" of capitalist property? Let these $50 millions be diverted to social services, land settlement schemes, etc., and we can begin to absorb not only our own unemployed but the refugees as well.

Arcand realizes that these refugees will be implacable foes of Fascism and therefore struggles against their admittance. Labor must recognize them as such, too, and as strong allies in the future show-down between fascism and labor. To-day our demands must be clear and militant:

OPEN THE DOORS TO THE REFUGEES FROM NAZI TERROR!

DIVERT THE DEFENSE BUDGET TO A PROGRAM OF SOCIAL SERVICES!

M. G.

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TOWARDS A REGULAR PRINTED ORGAN

The editors of Socialist Action are finding it increasingly difficult to present the revolutionary Marxist point of view in an adequate manner through the facilities of a mimeographed organ. They feel keenly the need for a regular printed paper, and are sure that the sympathizers and supporters of the Socialist Policy Group would welcome such a step forward. A campaign for funds is therefore being considered, in order to establish a printed organ for 1939. The editorial board is confident that this campaign will be warmly received, and urges all Marxists to respond adequately to the forthcoming appeal.

The Editors.

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Socialist Action

C O N T E N T S

1. Socialist Workers' League is Founded.
2. The A. F. of L. - C. I. O. Fight.
3. Capitalism Proposes to Help the Unemployed.
4. The Bitter Fruits of Opportunism.
5. York Township S.W.L. Contests Elections.
6. 1938 -- A Brief International Review.
7. Support the Press Campaign - An Appeal.

OFFICIAL ORGAN: S O C I A L I S T W O R K E R S'

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SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE IS FOUNDED

Proclaims adherence to Fourth International

A meeting of the Socialist Policy Group and other revolutionary socialists, many of whom had adhered to the former Workers' Party of Canada, resulted in the founding of the Socialist Workers' League of Canada. Adherence to the principles of revolutionary Marxism was inscribed upon the banner of the new organization. It was not necessary to have long discussions on its basic program, as the membership had come together as a result of ideological agreement with the theses of the recently held International conference of the Fourth International. The new organization is the culmination of a sharp struggle in the C.C.F. for the revolutionaries of the Socialist Policy Group to give expression to their ideas. As this paper has reported in its last few issues, this struggle resulted in the bureaucratic expulsion of the S.P.G.

Now that the reformist bureaucracy is flirting with the Stalinist stooges in the party, it will be impossible for honest revolutionaries to breathe inside the C.C.F. The experience of the left wing indicates that to champion clear-cut policies on war and fascism is to invite expulsion. The right wing C.C.F. party has failed miserably to attract to its ranks the working class of this country. Its composition is overwhelmingly middle-class, and particularly in Ontario it has experienced a drastic reduction in membership. Without a clear answer to a single vital issue, it is doomed to disintegration.

The S.W.L. extends a hearty welcome to those revolutionaries still in the C.C.F. to join in the building of a new revolutionary party in this country. The S.W.L. sees in this the prime task of the Canadian labor movement, upon which will depend its success or failure in the mighty struggles to come. In every country the party has been the basic problem. Without it nothing can be achieved.

It is hardly necessary to repeat that there is NO revolutionary party in this country. The C.C.F. and the C.P. in Canada are but poor imitations of similar mass parties in other countries, all of which are collapsing before the furious onslaught of the frightful decay of capitalism. Without a revolutionary program, these parties have proven impotent before the threat of fascism and war. On the contrary, their programs of class collaboration as expressed in the now not so volubly proclaimed People's Front, have directly aided the ruling class. Out of the chaos and disorder of the present epoch, the working class will find a program and a party in the movement of the Fourth International.

The conditions of the present period are over-ripe for socialism. Capitalism is so bankrupt it cannot even assure elementary needs of life to the oppressed. But the masses have not yet found the only road to the solution of their problems, the proletarian revolution. The S.W.L. has set itself this task in the coming period. It is not a mass party. As a

propaganda group, its main efforts will be directed towards the advanced workers in the organized labor movement. Through them it will find a way to all sections of the workers and poor farmers in this country.

With the threat of war close at hand, the time left for the S.W.L. to work is not long. But today the revolutionary movement is infinitely stronger, proportionally, than the small group of internationalists at the beginning of the last world war. The founding of the Fourth International, with movements of tested cadres in every leading country in the world, is ample proof of this. Moreover, today there cannot be the same confusion as existed in 1914. Already the social-patriots have openly branded themselves as such. The reformists and Stalinists of the Second and Third Internationals have already announced their support of imperialism in the coming war. As the masses' hatred for war finds conscious expression along the lines of its true interests, it will soon settle fully with these labor fakers. The vanguard and the toiling masses will meet through the iron link of the Fourth International. The Socialist Workers' League looks with confidence towards the future.

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THE A.F. of L. - C.I.O. FIGHT

The fight between the A.F.ofL. and the C.I.O. has reached the stage where the workers of both unions are fed up with the jurisdictional battles that net them nothing. They instinctively feel a strong aversion to the split in the union movement and anxiously desire unity. The threat to move the split into this country has aroused the rank and file to vigilance. This move could only aid the fight of the ruling class against the labor movement as a whole, just as the vicious Lewis-Green fight in the U.S. is now a great aid to reaction.

The fight between the A.F.ofL. and the C.I.O. began as a principled battle, with craft versus industrial unionism as the crux of the fight. The C.I.O. has to be credited with bringing into the folds of organization millions of heretofore unorganized mass production workers.

But the fight is no longer craft versus industrial unionism. The AFL has been forced, through the tremendous surge into organizations of millions of workers, to recognize the principle of industrial unionism. In fact the AFL has organized of late, in many centers, on industrial lines. The fight remains today merely a contest for control of a united labor movement: FROM THE TOP.

In many instances the workers in both AFL and CIO unions have united in councils. In Akron, Ohio, when the United Rubber Workers were in a strike against the Goodyear Company, the AFL unions came forward with assistance. As a result of this action a council of both factions was formed, its sole aim and purpose -- a united front against the bosses.

A united labor movement - industrial and craft - the cessation of all jurisdictional fights within the movement itself - concentration on the fight against the real enemies - the bosses - that is the answer to the present difficult situation. All workers must condemn every attempt of the top leadership to promote dual unionism and to further split the union movement in this country.

In Canada the basic problem of the unions remains organization of the unorganized. The greatest step towards a united union movement would be the influx of thousands of new union members from the hitherto unorganized industries. However, closer co-operation between the existing union centers can be achieved at once by the creation of joint councils to deal with matters affecting the class as a whole, such as government negotiations, unrestricted admittance of Europe's refugees, etc. Progressives must oppose the class-collaborationist top leadership of the unions with a program of militant trade union unity.

B. G.

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CAPITALISM PROPOSES TO HELP THE UNEMPLOYED

The Canadian Corps Association has broken out in another of its periodical rashes over the unemployed, this time the unemployed youth. It proposes that the Federal government make lavish expenditures on youth training camps under military discipline across Canada. There is to be no stinting of funds to win the youth over to a war preparedness program: theatres, gymnasiums, recreation halls and quite incidentally, military training with meagre military pay.

The Canadian Corps which is the publicity agent for the Canadian general staff enthusiastically states through Col. Reynolds that a "fundamental of our plan.... is that at all times there will be available in Canada the nucleus of a defence force partially trained and available at short notice to meet any emergency." This vague phraseology gently hints that if labor troubles should develop "at short notice" the employers would have at their fingertips a militia of youth, groomed by military officers for strike-breaking; or if the Mother exploiter, Britain, should need aid in a hurry to keep the Empire from cracking up, the King government would have a trained expeditionary force of fresh young men to send across.

Col. Reynolds proposes that the 100,000 youths in Canada who find themselves "unfitted to make a start in life" spend a term of two years in these military camps, hoping by this subterfuge to produce the same results as European "democracies" get from compulsory military service. Col. Reynolds is fully aware of the fact that the majority of youths leaving school each year find themselves "unfitted to make a start" and would accordingly receive this military training and propaganda.

The unemployed youths are opposed both to military and civilian camps. What they want is jobs at a decent level of wages. If they are old enough to fight for their country, they are old enough to work. The responsibility for unemployment among the youth does not rest on the youths themselves, i.e., on their alleged unfitness, as Col. Reynolds so piously proclaims. The guilt lies with decadent capitalism in the first place, and with the Federal and Provincial governments who refuse to supply the funds necessary to put the young men to work. Instead of engaging on vast programs of public works, conservation and reforestration, to provide work at a trade union rate of wages, the King government is preparing to budget $50 millions for military expenditures, an increase of $16 millions over last year, while the unemployed youth tighten their belts another notch.

Hepburn and his sugary lieutenant Hipel promise farm placements and low-paid apprentice jobs but cannot even find a vacany that will pay starvation wages. The fact is that although production has increased and bond dividends have shown marked gains, all those employed in 1929 have never been re-absorbed into the factories, and thousands of youths have never seen the inside of factory gates. Capitalism in crisis has no opportunities to offer youth except the opportunity to starve, to fight in an imperialist war and to become demoralized.

If Canadian young people are to rise out of the hopeless position in which decaying capitalism places them, their first step is to organize into their own unemployed organizations and put forward bold demands. The unemployed movement in Canada is at the moment weak and disorganized, primarily as a result of the "rule or ruin" policy of the Stalinists. The C.C.F. as a national organization has never taken much interest in the unemployed movement, except to pass a resolution from time to time.

However, throughout the country there exist numerous local organizations, many of which follow progressive, militant policies. In these areas relief standards are considerably higher. The trade union movement can play a great role in strengthening and unifying the unemployed movement, and it should have as an important task tying the unemployed to the union movement. This will lend prestige to the unemployed movement and will be an invaluable aid to the struggle of the organized labor unions for better working conditions.

Any organization worthy of the name progressive, MUST participate in this work. The ruling class will seek its chief strike-breakers and storm-troopers in the ranks of the unemployed. The entire labor movement must defend the interests of the unemployed by demanding:

A PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM AT TRADE UNION RATES OF PAY.
THAT THE WAR BUDGET GO TO THE UNEMPLOYED.
THAT IDLE FACTORIES BE TURNED OVER TO THE UNEMPLOYED TO RECOMMENCE OPERATIONS UNDER CONTROL OF WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

D. E.

THE BITTER FRUITS OF OPPORTUNISM

In this year's municipal election campaign Toronto is offered the illuminating spectacle of a "labor" candidate for school trustee backed by some of the most reactionary interests in the city. The man is Herbert Orliffe, provincial secretary of the C.C.F.; the interests are the Telegram and the Globe and Mail. Backed by both dailies, (the Globe is plumping for him) which gleefully print his denunciations of the Communists as part of their vicious red-baiting campaign, Orliffe is at the same time the target of that particularly venomous type of abuse the Daily Clarion & Co. reserve for those they have wooed and lost.

Behind this unusual situation lies a story of opportunistic maneuvering by everyone concerned which demonstrates with crystal clearness the disastrous consequences of the "get elected first" policy which is now the essential strategy of both the C.C.F. and the Stalinists. It started with a decision of the Toronto Regional Council of the C.C.F. not to run an aldermanic candidate in Ward IV. Officially the reason was an unwillingness to spend effort and money where there was no hope of electoral success. In effect it was a "non-aggression" pact with the Stalinists, to the benefit of Weir and Salsberg on one side and Orliffe on the other. The Stalinists showed their appreciation by endorsing Orliffe through the Labor Representation Association.

Then the Workmen's Circle and Left Paole Zion clubs of the C.C.F., driven by their detestation of the Stalinists to defy, the decision of the T.R.C., held a conference to try and get an aldermanic candidate to oppose Salsberg. Failing in this, they endorsed Romer for Alderman in Ward V and Orliffe for school trustee in Ward IV. The accompanying speeches were pitched in a shrill anti-communist key. Orliffe, in a cynical attempt to ingratiate himself with the group, and either ignorant or reckless of possible consequences, joined in the chorus. Unfortunately for him the reactionary Canadian News made this the basis for a long anti-communist editorial ending with the endorsation of Orliffe and Romer and urging the defeat of "Communist candidates".

Forthwith the hounds of Stalinism were hot on Herbert's trail, demanding that he repudiate this reactionary campaign. But our doughty socialist fighter simply disappeared from his usual haunts, leaving his bewildered campaign committee to cope with the enraged Stalinists as best they might. There are two possible explanations for Orliffe's strange behaviour. Either he was too panic-stricken to figure a way out of the mess, or else he was confident of acclamation and figured it was safest to sit tight and say nothing. He was already sure that Ross, the other trustee sitting with Weir would not run for re-election and no other candidate was in sight.

In any case, Orliffe kept mum and the Stalinists commenced smearing him in their well known style, linking him with a chain of reaction stretching right back to Hepburn. In addition, he

charges they put up Shelley Millstone, who runs a legal column for the Clarion, as a"spite candidate" against him. The C.C.F. board of strategy squirms helplessly on the horns of a dilemma. They fear the consequences if they repudiate his campaign and they fear them if they don't, so they sit still and shiver. The rank and file are outraged by this glaring evidence of petty careerism on the part of a leading executive member. His own unit, North Spadina, has publicly repudiated him. Meanwhile, Orliffe, confident that with his newspaper backing he is sure to get in, loftily refuses to even discuss the matter with his organization.

This rotten situation is not, as many honest C.C.F.'ers will be led to believe, a deplorable but isolated accident. It is a development that follows with iron logic from the social-democratic view of the struggle for socialism as essentially a fight for control of parliament. That is why the C.C.F. exists on spasmodic activity only at election time. C.C.F. candidates must become the same sort of agile vote-catchers as their capitalist and Stalinist competitors. They must be "realistic", follow Canadian traditions, such as non-partisan municipal elections, and inevitably then, they become political prostitutes, ready to drop their principles like hot bricks if they can get a few votes more.

These are the policies that have led to the ghostly treacheries and defeats that have disgraced and ruined the parties of the working class in Europe. We of the Socialist Workers' League hold that the only effective election policy for socialists in the present era is one designed to expose the futility of parliamentary wangling to solve the problems of the workers. It must lay before them a fighting program that they can use day in and day out and not just once a year, upon which they can build a mass movement which will sweep away the whole rotten system. So long as the C.C.F. remains merely a vote-catching machine, so long will it continue to tread the path of confusion, disunity and betrayal.

N. H.

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YORK TOWNSHIP S.W.L. CONTESTS ELECTIONS

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is the municipal election program issued by the York Township S.W.L., in sponsoring Wm. Butterworth for Deputy Reeve, in Ward III.

FELLOW WORKERS: Twelve months have passed since you elected "your" last council.

Have they been your representatives?

We say: No!

Has there been any change in the miserable conditions of the workers, unemployed and employed alike?

NO! There can be no change as long as you continue to elect representatives of the capitalist parties.

They administer the affairs of the township not for your benefit, but for the capitalist class whose servants they are.

We, the working class, must elect members of our own class to serve us.

We don't try to delude you by suggesting that by electing one of our class we can cure all the evils of this system. But you can be assured that all the maneuvers behind the scenes will be exposed to the workers.

We present the following program, and will at all times fight for it, whether elected or not.

TAXATION: We support and will fight for a graduated assessment tax, to decrease the taxation on the workers and small home owners and place it on the homes of the wealthy and upon industry.

RELIEF: All cash relief at the present scale, 35% above the Campbell report; to include clothing and provisions for non-consumable articles such as household utensils.

WATER: We advocate an immediate investigation into the water department, because of the failure to reduce the water rate after a reduction had been obtained from the city.

A SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS FOR TOWNSHIP EMPLOYEES, with no reduction in pay, to lessen unemployment in the township.

ABOLITION OF ALL RELIEF LABOR: This work to be done by men taken off the relief rolls and paid at the municipal rate of pay. We shall fight for a 40-hour week with no reduction in pay.

FRANCHISE: The right of everyone to vote upon reaching the age of 18. If the youth are old enough to go to war, they are old enough to vote.

WORKS PROGRAM: We shall fight for a bold housing program to replace the rotten slum areas with modern comfortable homes for workers at low rentals. This will offer constructive employment to the hard-hit building trade workers. One of the chief tasks of labor must be to centralize relief costs and public works financing in the Federal government, so that the small home owners and farmers do not bear the brunt of costs. The burden must be placed on those best able to bear it! the higher incomes and wealthy corporations.

Alongside of these demands, which are necessarily restricted to the Township of York, the Socialist Workers' League on a national scale fights for a program of action which should be of consider-

able interest to every working man and woman.

A large number of railway workers who live in York Township will be particularly interested in our program on the railroad question. We fight Sir Edward Beatty's scheme to have the C.P.R. swallow up the C.N.R., not merely by opposing amalgamation, but by championing the unification of the railroad system UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL. No other plan will prevent economies being effected at the expense of the workers. A sliding scale of working hours will divide all the work at hand amongst all railroad workers with no reduction in pay. Naturally this will have to be done at the expense of the rich C.P.R. stockholders and C.N.R. bondholders, but we cannot shed any crocodile tears over those people who have plundered and robbed the natural resources of this country and who now lead parasitic lives at the expense of the working people.

WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY. Hydro inquiries have demonstrated conclusively that the present system of state "ownership" is merely a front for corruption, graft and superprofits. We must put an end to the reign of the power barons, and unify the industry throughout Canada under the control of workers' Committees.

The right to work is the last serious right left us in a society based on exploitation. WE STAND FOR WORK AND DECENT LIVING CONDITIONS FOR ALL. If capitalism cannot give us this, then let it perish. There is only one road that labor must travel, and that is towards independent working class political action. That road alone can guarantee us the right to live.

Forward to a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

And let us begin by voting for Bill Butterworth in Ward III, and we shall then have made a beginning in the proper direction.

York Township Branch,
SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE OF CANADA.
(Fourth International)

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1938: A BRIEF INTERNATIONAL REVIEW

1938, just concluding its unhappy course, has been a black year in the calendar of the working class. What does the New Year hold in store for the suffering masses? Will the ebb tide of retreat and defeats be stemmed, and a new revolutionary upsurge unleash the long pent-up energies of the workers? Society is rotten-ripe for a planned socialist order. The marvellous economic machinery and scientific technique, capable under rational control of satisfying all the basic needs of man at a decent, constantly rising standard, is being strangled within the dying embrace of capitalism. Can the revolutionary party bridge the gap between the objective conditions and the backward

political consciousness of the proletariat in time? Or is the world to revert to political and cultural barbarism in the second imperialist Great War?

France is on the threshold of a decisive contest for power between Capital and Labor. Indeed, the Nov. 30th General Strike, which ended so miserably for the betrayed, disorganized workers was the prelude. As a result of the treacherous leadership of the Socialist and Communist Parties, and of the C.G.T. union bureaucrats who fear independent class activity by the workers, the capitalist class has been able to take away all the social gains, especially the 40-hour week, won in June 1936.

The Popular Front brought Daladier to power and kept an aroused fighting working class tied to capitalist "law and order". Now Daladier dispenses with his communist and socialist agents with a kick, when these have served their turn. Now the workers are in retreat, the strikers having been persecuted and jailed, the militants weeded out in rehiring, former contracts repudiated, and recalcitrants still locked out. The drive towards fascism in the state is accelerated enormously. The workers are embittered, disillusioned, but not yet defeated. The real struggle is still in the near future.

The French bourgeoisie needs a regimented working class, destruction of the independent labor movement and a lower living standard for the masses, because of the imperialist rivalry with Germany and Italy in Europe and on the world market. Resurrected German imperialism, strengthened by the spoils of Austria and Sudetenland, has blown into the air the whole post-war Versailles system and destroyed French hegemony on the continent. Fearing war and social revolution more than they hate Germany, Chamberlain and Daladier, true representatives of their capitalist masters signed and sealed the end of the old status quo at Munich.

Unable to solve the economic crisis by expelling and pauperizing a whole Jewish minority, by increasing the working day to ten hours and lowering living standards, Germany now seeks to dominate the whole Danubian basin economically, to annex Danzig and Memel and to use the Ukranian nationalist movement outside Russia as a base for a campaign against rich Soviet Ukraine.

Now that redivision of the globe and renewed demand for colonies and spheres of influence by the have-not nations is again on the order of the day, Italy seeks to browbeat France into granting concessions with regard to French owned railroad in Somaliland and Suez Canal tolls, by the organized clamor for Tunis, Nice, Corsica. Poland, differing little from Germany, with its own military dictatorship, its brutal treatment of the Jews, is more and more under pressure by Germany and under its influence.

The establishment of the 4-Power Pact has destroyed the basis of the Soviet foreign policy for the past four years, and left the U.S.S.R. more isolated and its socialized economic base imperilled more than ever before in its history. The possibility of a rapprochement between Hitler and Stalin is not excluded, has even been hinted at by such a Kremlin spokesman as Duranty. This would only be a renewal by Stalin of attempts rebuffed in 1933 when Hitler first came to power, to seek an agreement. If such a deal could be put through now that the so-called "democratic front" has been cynically booted out by England and France, it would be only at the price of giving up the state monopoly of foreign trade in Russia, opening the market to German goods and investment -- in short, the end of nationalized economy.

With war in Spain nearing its end after 2½ years, with the loyalist forces losing ground continually, and Franco, still aided by Italian and German forces, closing in around Barcelona, the stage is being cleared for the main show, the second act of the Great War. Japan, determined to conquer China and dominate Asia, threatens to close the door to America and England who are arming furiously for the inevitable showdown. Civilization is doomed, unless the Fourth International and its parties are able to lead the masses on to the road to socialism.

S. J.

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SUPPORT THE PRESS CAMPAIGN

An appeal to our readers:

Today the working class movement needs leadership as never before. Caught in the toils of dying capitalism, menaced by the ruthless advance of fascism and the ever growing threat of war, betrayed and deserted by the leadership of its great parties, the working class is groping toward the road of struggle for the overthrow of the whole rotten system.

For success, that struggle must be based upon the tested principles of revolutionary internationalism. None of the existing mass parties can lead it. The Second International has proven itself, a staunch ally of capitalism and a convenient doormat for fascism. The Third International has become a pliant tool of a gang of bloodsoaked careerists in the Kremlin ready to sell out the workers of any nation in return for a shaky alliance with their capitalist masters. But the nucleus of that leadership so badly needed is already in existence. The Fourth International, formally established last September, with organized sections and groups in 23 countries numbers in its growing ranks the most experienced and indomitable revolutionary fighters alive.

The Socialist Workers' League, Canadian section of the Fourth International, faces tremendous tasks with slender resources. An indispensible first step towards establishing the

organization as a real force in the Canadian class struggle is a Press Campaign to assure the regular appearance in printed form of its organ, Socialist Action. Carrying Marxist analyses of world events, particularly as they effect the living struggles of the Canadian masses, Socialist Action will be indispensible to every working class militant, to every friend of labor, to every serious student of contemporary history.

We ask you to send your pledge or contribution TODAY. Every dollar, every dime counts, and with the black shadows of fascism and war growing with terrible speed, time, too, is precious. We are counting on your help.

B. Nathans,
Chairman - Campaign Committee.

SOCIALIST ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

VOL. II No. 1 | TORONTO, ONTARIO MARCH 20 1939 | Price 5 cents

PROGRAM OF ACTION

What the Socialist Workers' League means by Socialist Action in Canada.

1 Need for Action

The times are ripe for socialism.

In Canada, as everywhere, capitalism has created a swamp and got itself permanently stuck in it. Our million workless can get no work, and the whole of the working masses are oppressed with increasing poverty, undernourishment and sickness, as wages are forced down and prices rise.

Capitalists answer depression only with repression. Duplessis outlaws the C.I.O., and persecutes any who are even suspected of "believing" in socialism; the so-called democratic rights of workers to hold meetings, organize unions of their own choice, speak freely, publish worker papers, are denied them in Quebec, and to some extent throughout the whole of Canada.

At the same time, our boss politicians prepare to drag us at the tail of the British Empire into another world war. The King government refuses needed expenditures for national relief, the unemployed, housing, health, etc. —but it has plenty for war budgets. A new mass slaughter seems now to be only a few months away—and King's acquiescence in Chamberlain's policies has **already committed Canadians to being slaughtered in it.**

2 Failure of CCF and CP

Yet the Canadian masses remain outside the ranks of socialism. Why? Why do fascist forces flourish in Quebec and extend themselves over Canada while the C.C.F. dwindles? Why do pauperized prairie farmers still vote capitalist parties into power or allow themselves to be fooled by the nonsense of Social Credit?

It is because Canadian socialists have not learned how to speak to workers and farmers, how to create a bridge of action between the advanced crisis of capitalism and the backward political knowledge of the masses in this country.

The workers and farmers desperately need the necessities of life; they need markets for what they produce, and guaranteed incomes by which they can buy what they need. In 1939 these things can be secured only by a struggle against capitalism itself; that is, the workers must organize not only to fight for this and that immediate issue, for the right to organize into a union here, to strike there; they must make these immediate struggles the basis for a permanent fighting socialist body. None of the existing parties proposing to lead the working class to socialism is trying to do this.

The "Communist" Party has long since ceased to be communist and is now, in its politics scarcely distinguishable from the C.C.F. The C.C.F. is openly a parliamentary reformist party; the C.P. still plays on its revolutionary and international past, but in reality it too is reformist and social-patriotic. Both these parties are non-militant; both hunt out and expel any revolutionaries from their ranks. Both are controlled by bureaucrats. The C.P. leaders are Stalin's yes-men in Canada. They take the line from Moscow and that line is laid down according to whatever maneuvres Stalin is using at the moment in his attempt to make the U.S.S.R. a respectable ally of "democratic" capitalist countries. At the moment, according to the C.P., the King government is "democratic" and 'peace-loving" and should therefore be supported even at the cost of entry into another world war. The leaders stand ready to act as patriotic recruiting-sergeants and stoolpigeons for capitalism in the approaching war.

3. Need for a Revolutionary Party

Their quarrel with the C.C.F. is therefore only a quarrel between rivals for the same job— the job of tricking workers into fighting for the bosses. The C.C.F. leaders are busy sowing illusions that socialism will be achieved without a struggle against the owning class. The C.C.F. and the C.P. simply contend for the honor of being **the third party of capitalism.**

They cannot advance a real fighting action program such as is needed to rally the suffering masses around the socialist banner. The party of social-

continued on page four

HICHIN BREAKS WITH STALINISTS

REPUDIATES C.P. REFORMISM JOINS 4TH. INTERNATIONAL

Carl Hichin

May this serve as the public announcement to the labor movement of my complete organizational and political severance from the Communist Party of Canada, (Third International) and its now irrevocable reformism, and may it also serve as a declaration of my accord, politically and organizationally, with the Socialist Workers' League of Canada, (Fourth International) — the one Canadian party and International adhering to revolutionary Marxism.

As one who had been publicly associated with the C.P. of C. and its organ for several years, and one who had been active in the labor movement for more than 20 years, I gave long and serious consideration to the question of transfering my party allegiance, before actually taking the step. As early as 1935, I told the C.P. district buro of Manitoba, through J. McN., that the party was "prostituting the name of Communism" in relation to its "fight against fascism."

Even after being removed from the Clarion by a decision of the Politburo in May 1938, I hesitated for more than six months before making a public announcement of my break with the party. During that six months, let it be said, to keep the record straight, I declined several invitations to renew my party activity, resigned from the party in July, when asked what my desires were, and as late as January 1, 1939 I declined an invitation to rejoin the party. That invitation was extended through two of the party's prominent members, C. M. and A. C.

C I HAS SCRAPPED MARX

Particularly during those 6 months did I give myself over to serious investigation and study, which had previously been restricted by pressure of party work. I considered it necessary, before making any public announcement, that I satisfy myself, beyond any possible doubt, that the C.I. had abandoned revolutionary Marxism, as I had frequently suggested, and that thorough bureaucratization of the Third International had made it impossible to accomplish rectification by inner party work. Then, of course, arose the necessity of satisfying myself that the party of my new allegiance was a revolutionary party. The statement given above, announces my firm conviction.

My decision to make a public break

continued on page two

LEON TROTSKY

The Red Army he built no longer swears loyalty to Socialism.

Red Army Drops Allegiance Oath To World Workers

21st Aniversary of Red Army Greeted with Further Reaction

Henceforth recruits to the Red Army will sign a simple soldier's oath of allegiance to superiors in exactly the same fashion as the soldiers of bourgeois armies. The goal of "liberating" the world's workers or of dying for "the cause of socialism and the brotherhood of peoples" is now merely a bad memory to the Kremlin bureaucrats. In the celebration of the 21st Anniversary of the creation of the Red Army, held Feb. 23rd, all members of the armed forces were compelled to swear a new oath in alignment with the general policies of Stalinism, which gave up the cause of Socialism

continued on page two

Hichin Breaks with Stalinists

C.P. Militant Says Marx Junked by Stalin

continued from page one

with the C.P. of C. was made early in December, 1938. However, I found it impossible to get any publication to make public my decision in the terms I desired and not wishing to be misunderstood as joining in the red-baiting then prevalent, I witheld all public announcement until after the Toronto municipal elections. Even then, as we shall see, I failed to find a satisfactory medium.

Here, space requires that I touch upon only one central point, illustrative of the C.I.'s abandonment of revolutionary Marxism, its embrace of reformism and the consequent victories of Franco and the strengthening of fascist and war forces in almost every country, and particularly in France.

C. P. NOW REFORMIST PARTY

It had been obvious, particularly since the 1935 C.I. Congress, that Stalin's "socialism in one country" had led him and the C.I. into satisfaction with the international status quo, complete abandonment of the international proletarian revolution, and the changing of the C.I. sections into reformist parties, whose main task was to act as Soviet border guards — ("We do not seek an inch of foreign soil, neither will we surrender an inch of our own" — Stalin.)

Defense of the Soviet Union from the blows of capitalist enemies is, of course, the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization, but it must also be borne in mind that the fate of the Soviet Union will be decided in the long run not on the maps of army staffs but on the map of the class struggle, and that the task of the proletariat is not the perpetuation of existing imperialist boundaries and states — including those that beset the Soviet Union — but their revolutionary abolition.

Similarly, in order to utilize the imperialist contradictions of the day, there is not the slightest need for idealizing as champions of peace and liberty, say, France and England, both of which are far from being "democratic" in their colonial exploitation. Indeed, if this is done, then the sections of the C.I. are transformed into political agencies of imperialism in relation to the masses.

BUCK SUPPORTS COMING WAR

That, in fact, is the miserable role of the Third International today. Browder, general secretary of the C.P., U.S.A., has put it quite bluntly — open support for Roosevelt's "billions for armaments" and promise of C.P. support for the U. S. government should it become involved in a war with Japan — and presumably Germany.

This is the "fight against fascism" now substituted by the C.I. for its old stand that the "only alternative to fascism is the proletarian dictatorship." It follows, of course, that to follow this new line in time of war, it must be started in time of peace. Indeed, this calling upon the workers to support their own bourgeoisie has begun. We find it in the "Unions sacrees" and coalition cabinets known as the "popular front governments," in the fawning at the feet of Roosevelt and King, in the complete embracing of reformism and the abandonment of revolutionary class struggle.

Surely, Tim Buck knows that what Hitler fears most, is not the verbose declarations of "democratic" bourgeoisies but the sounding of the tocsin on the barricades of France, and then, perhaps, Germany. But Buck blithely goes along creating a Canadian "union sacree" and blessing others. As recently as Feb. 2, in the Daily Clarion, he quoted a Roosevelt dictum that the "first duty of our statemanship today is to bring capital and man power together" and hopefully added, "Can this be done in Canada? I say: Yes."

REPUDIATES STALINISM

It would be difficult to imagine a more brazenly outspoken desertion of the revolutionary class struggle. Surely those thousands who joined the C.P. of C. in the firm belief that they were joining a revolutionary party must now see into what a treacherous blind alley they have been led, and surely they will hasten to join in repudiation of such rank reformism and social patriotism and turn to building the only present party of revolutionary Marxism, the Fourth International.

I mentioned above the difficulty I experienced in gaining suitable publicity for the announcement to my revolutionary colleagues of my break with the C.P. of C. Finally, after the Toronto elections, I felt constrained to resort to Maclean's and the Winnipeg Free Press, and to a treatment that was far from satisfactory. For that, sharp criticism is due.

Liberties taken by the editors with my article made matters even worse. I therefore specifically repudiate the impression left in the article that the C.P. of C. still secretly pursues revolutionary policies. From the above, I think I have made it clear that the C.P. of C. has infact embraced reformism and that any duplicity that exists is directed towards maintaining control and leadership of those honest workers and party members whose greatest desire is to help achieve the revolutionary emancipation of the world proletariat. To the latter, I have already addressed my appeal, that they too, publicly repudiate the C.I. and join in building the true party of revolutionary Marxism — the Socialist Workers League of Canada.

Officers Go Ritzy. S.U. Privates Just Plugs

(continued from page one)

years ago.

Previously the "liberating" clause of the oath had been dropped for new recruits. After the execution of the Red Army generals the entire general staff was overhauled, and this new decree merely records the fact that, as in all spheres of Russion life, the army has become completely nationalistic.

The Red Army now operates like the armies of the capitalist states. Saluting and other bourgeois customs have been re-introduced for some years. There is a wide gap between the living conditions and privileges of officers and those of privates. The bolshevik conception of the armed people forming a democratic army as the vanguard of the world revolution has been completely abandoned. The army has degenerated along with the entire apparatus of the state into a weapon of the bureaucracy against the people. Indeed, the G.P.U., hated state secret police, forms the most powerful single contingent in the Red Army.

CANDIDATE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY LEAGUE?

Addressing the opening session of the eighteenth All-Union Congress of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin lamented the failure of his friends, the great imperialist democracies to resist "fascist aggressors." Underlying the "peace" policy of Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt, was a desire to embroil Italy, Japan and Germany in a war with the U.S.S.R., and then, when they had all had become weakened by conflict, to "come on the stage with fresh forces", Stalin said. With this dictum off his chest, Stalin declared there was no genuine basis for war between Germany and Russia. He still ignores the proletariat of the world as the S. U's main ally, and the international revolution as the only way to end the wars of both fascists and democratic imperialists.

ANTI-FASCISM AS CLOAK FOR WAR

"In the last imperialist war, the Allies made use of the slogan, "Fight against Prussian militarism," while the Central Empires used the slogan, "Fight against Czarism"; both sides used the respective slogans to mobilize the masses for war. In a future war...the same purpose will be served by the slogan "Fight against reactionary Fascism," for the bourgeoisie...will take advantage of the Anti-Fascist sentiments of the masses of the people to justify imperialist war."— From Resolution on War Sixth Congress of Comintern, Moscow, 1928.

McCullagh Benefits From CP -- CCF Inaction

Canada's Big Shots Feed Fat Profits and Tinsel Phrases into Reactionary Leadership League

There are sound reasons why the Ontario and Quebec mining barons have sent out their salesman, George McCullagh, to round up the Canadian voting public. The fleeting "recovery" that Canada experienced still left 900,000 on relief; the youths who left school during the 1929—34 years are now sick of roaming the country; their discontent has found expression in militant temporary occupancy of public buildings in Vancouver and Fort William. They now stir restlessly in the larger cities. Anxious to strike out demonstratively for work and a living wage, they are kept in check by a treacherous leadership.

W. H. Wright and his millionaire friends are afraid that even reactionary Hepburn and laissez-faire King may be forced to yield another small crust or two to the Canadian workers and farmers.

It is significant that the McCullagh campaign was launched at the same time that Hepburn toured Australia to study a scheme of debt conversions which if introduced in Ontario might cut a thin slice off the profits accruing from municipal and government bonds. The campaign also coincided with King's announcement of a modest unemployment insurance scheme, completion at the cost of $12,000,000 of the terminal at Montreal and other lesser projects, all, in part at least, a pre-election move by the Liberals to win the position of representing the Canadian capitalists for another five years.

BIG SHOTS' DUPERY

But the mining barons and their financial kith and kin hate to put out an extra few pennies for these election maneuvres, the price they have to pay for relying on the two party system of fooling the masses. They are apprehensive that if the Liberals now find it necessary to offer the Canadian workers unemployment insurance and a comparatively puny public works project, the Liberals might be compelled to make further concessions in the future.

The groupings behind the Leadership League, possibly the most far-seeing sections of the Canadian capitalists, have decided to enter into the business of fooling the masses themselves. If, with the aid of their newspapers, they can corral a wide section of the population within the bounds of a demagogic platform, they will have that much more decisive weight in determining which party is elected and what its policies will be.

Like their class brethren in the U.S.A. and Britain, the financial oligarchs are now timid about putting their trust in any one party. They obviously will support any candidate of any color who supports the program that they lay down. In fact, the Globe and Mail is preparing the way for a National or Coalition government which would be more easily controllable than the two party system of bickering for the spoils of power. Be it always remembered, coalition governments are created to do what a one party government dares not to do and frequently in the past the capitalists have conjured them into being for the "successful" committing of the country to war and the "expeditious" prosecuting of imperialist wars.

POOR STILL TO PAY

McCullagh in his series of five radio addresses was sent out to win a mass base for the reactionary and pro-imperialist designs of a strong grouping of Canadian capitalists. He pretends that the tax burden can be reduced by more efficient government and fewer government agencies. He inveighs that the tax burden is predominantly the major cause of all Canadian capitalism's chronic ailments. But despite McCullagh's demagogy and his carefully prepared vagueness on many important matters, the toilers of Canada must note that Mr. McCullagh has said nothing about "soaking the rich," or "squeezing out more" from the profits that the 50 Big Shots have been harvesting while the poor farmers, homeowners and other toilers bore the brunt of the taxation.

YOUTH TO 'FORM FOURS'

Again, McCullagh throws his weight behind the Canadian Corps' infamous scheme to militarize the youth in training camps. He, with the Corps, wants to give Canadian youth "a much-needed discipline that will carry these boys over a period of industrial inactivity". In short Mr. McCullagh wants to kill all traces of class militancy in Canada's youth and prepare it for another imperialist slaughter. McCullagh mentioned "a well-considered Federal government plan to take care of the unemployed" which will gain "the co-operation of industry and must not disregard the need for defense", but he rejects much needed large public works schemes. Obviously, Mr. McCullagh is not interested in the economic welfare of the youth. He does desire that Canada's young folks be made into good soldier material.

Lastly, McCullagh offers his listeners, who seek a way out of their present difficulties, "proper" leadership in a League embodying his program. Membership in the League has already gone over the 125,000 mark, and it must be admitted, that McCullagh could not have enjoyed such rapid recruiting, had not the C.P. and the C.C.F. failed completely to take decisive action to win substantial improvements for the Canadian middle class and its toilers.

Continued on page 7

Their Democracy

By Dege

"To decide once every few years which member of the ruling class is to repress and oppress the people through parliament—this is the real essence of bourgeois parliamentiarism, not only in parliamentary constitutional monrachies, but also in the most democratic republics"—(Lenin: State and Revolution. c. 3. part 3)

TRADE TREATY AND THE POPULAR FRONT

While debating the recent triangular trade treaty entered into by Canada, Britain and the United States, Mr Coldwell, the orator of the C.C.F. parliamentary fraction, points out that "trade treaties will not cure unemployment and poverty". So far so good. But, being a social-democrat, a leader of the third party of Canadian capitalism, Coldwell needs must add that the treaty has some merits since it will achieve "closer cooperation with the three great English-speaking democracies", Britain, United States and Canada (in spite of Quebec's Padlock Law).

And the reason that Coldwell is overjoyed to see these mighty democracies lined up on one side is summed up in his Stalino-democrat formula, notably, "that anything which can tend to bring those peoples more closely together may have the effect of preventing a serious and disastrous war".

In "those peoples", Coldwell included imperialist France, let it be known. Perhaps Coldwell hopes that the backwoods Canadians did not hear that Daladier sent picked troops against several million workers in the recent general strike; or that Chamberlain has already divided England up into 12 regions each to be governed by a military dictator in time of war; or that Roosevelt, glorious star in the heavens of pious democrats, has crammed through Congress legislation that will throw the peanut shell of democracy into the ashcan once war breaks.

Will Mr. Coldwell swoon when his long-wooed democrats "betray" capitalist democracy to preserve capitalism after the Chamberlain style?

SOME DETECTIVE WORK

The Sherlock Holmes, of the C.C.F and Conservative Detective Agencies Inc. have discovered a big black spot on the white lily of Canadian democracy... and also a spotlette. They discovered first the Bren gun contract and then its diminutive relative... and so conveniently near election time too. What a chance to win over a few votes by the traditional capitalist trick of heaving some foamy black mud at the other party. As though democratic capitalism were not riddled through and through with graft and corruption. Back in 1927 for example, the Royal Commission on Customs and Excise provided the opportunity for a glimpse into how the capitalist democratic parties are in part financed.

Mr. Robert Fiddes of the Consolidated Exports Corporation is being questioned by the Commission lawyer in the following excerpts:—

Mr. Fiddes: "There was an understanding of the breweries that they would pay so much to the campaigns, 19[illegible] and 1926".

Question: "How much was that?"

Ans.:— "I do not remember, but that (referring to a $12,000 contribution) is our proportion individually, that is the proportion of the B.C. Breweries, and we paid it."

Question: "Did you give contributions to both sides?".

Answer: "Yes to both sides".

Mr Justice Wright: "Equal amounts?"

Answer: "Yes".

Mr Rowell: "What was the reason you gave these contributions?"

Answer: "It is a custom; we have always given contributions."

Question: "Always given to both sides?"

Answer: "Yes"

Question: "You are strictly impartial?"

Answer: 'Strictly impartial."

(Canadian House of Commons Debate, March 14, pp 613-14, 659-40).

BEAUHARNOIS TOO.

And if anyone still has any doubts as to who pays the piper and calls the tune, just recall the Beauharnois deal.

The contributions from Beauharnois were as follows: To the federal Liberal organization and Quebec Liberal organization $600,000 to $700,000, of which the Quebec organization received perhaps $200,000; to the Ontario Liberal organization $3,000 (a mere stingy tip): to the funds of Conservative candidates and to local conservative organizers apparently in the city of Montreal, $25,000 or $30,000: to the Quebec Conservative party, $20,000, perhaps included in the previous total; to a person, who, according to the president of the company, 'represented himself' as a collector for the Conservative Party in Ontario, $125,000. The recipient ... contended that it was paid to him personally for services to the company. An agent for the Conservative Party was declared to have refused a contribution (!) though $200,000 was suggested.

(Can. H. of C. Journals, 1931, pp 633-7).

And these are the same federal Liberals with whom the Stalinists are aching to go into a Popular Front!

Now no socialist denies the C.C.F. parliamentary councillors the right and duty to expose capitalism, show

continued on page eight

WHAT SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE

continued from page one

ism is still to be formed in this country.

But the basis for such a party already exists.

For more than ten years a group of fighting socialists has been carrying on the traditions of the international working class movement. Militant leaders of the original C.P. of C., who were expelled because they upheld Trotsky in his fight for the principles of Lenin against Stalinist distortions, have been joined by others repelled by both the C.P. and the C.C.F. as the treacherous role of these parties has become more and more evident. Banded together in a Socialist Workers' League, with a membership and influence reaching across Canada, we here present our program and call upon all militant workers, organized and unorganized, to break boldly with the C.C.F. and C.P. and reformism in general and join in the task of building a true working class socialist party in Canada.

4. *Break With The British Empire.*

There is much talk at present of the need to "reform" the relations between the Dominion and the Provinces. George McCullagh, reactionary publisher of a millionaire's sheet, proposes doing away with provincial government. Under the existing system this would simply mean (1) the loss by French-Canadians of such minority rights as they have. (2) a tighter grip of big-business over the impoverished prairies and maritimes. On the other hand, the present exaggerated powers of the provinces—given them by the B.N.A. act — are being used by Hepburn and Duplessis to block all moves towards national legislation for relief and unemployment. Such schemes would increase the taxes of their big business supporters. But eastern big-business dominates also the federal Conservative and Liberal Parties, and these will never introduce adequate national relief measures even if they could. Bennett passed his "new deal" knowing that the Privy Council in England could and would declare it beyond his powers.

To agitate therefore, as the C.C.F. does, simply for an abolition of appeal to the Privy Council is sowing the illusion that King or Manion would relieve poverty and unemployment if they were given more power. Only a militant worker-farmer party can force through real relief measures. Naturally such a government would have to repudiate the legal powers of English lawyers to interfere in Canada's legislation.

But the masses must put in a government which will completely and finally break with the British Empire. The governor-general must go. He is a fancy and useless expenditure. He is an officer appointed by British Imperialism with emergency powers to suspend the Canadian Parliament and rule solely with the aid of the capitalist Canadian premier and his cabinet. This "governor-general-in-council" joker legalized Canada's entry into the last war before any Parliamentary vote, and it is ready to repeat the trick. More important than these constitutional ties, however, is the plain fact that Chamberlain and the British army staff have made military alliances with France and the United States on the basis of empire participation in any war they start. This means that Canada is at war once Chamberlain is. Therefore the Canadian masses through a workers and farmers govt. must not merely repudiate the Privy Council and dismiss the Governor-General and his useless lieutenant-governors, but must wrest complete independence—legal and political — from the British Empire.

5. *Against Imperialist War; For Socialist Defense.*

So long as we have a capitalist government in Canada, so long will we be tied to one imperialist power or another. This means that any war into which that government drags us will be a war in which Canadian workers and farmers will gain nothing and lose everything. We therefore condemn C.C.F. and C.P. support of "collective security" as a treacherous device to suck the Canadian masses into a war only to "secure" one group of capitalist nations against the competition of another group. The fact that Britain is a "democracy" is not decisive; England's capitalist democracy exists only on the basis of its own murderous dictatorship over millions in India and Africa, and it is a democracy which will be discarded, as in 1914, as soon as war is declared. If the British "homeland" is invaded, British workers have nothing to gain in defending it until first they establish their own revolutionary workers' government. And until they do that, the Canadian masses have nothing to gain by fighting for England.

We declare our opposition to all imperialist wars. We advocate workers' action—strike to prevent shipment of war materials from Canada to capitalist powers as to Japan today. Boycotting silk stockings is of minor importance and effectiveness; militant socialists, unlike the C.C.F. and the C.P., turn first to the workers in trade unions who have the power to prevent the handling, loading and shipping to Japan of such vital war commodities as nickle, of which Japan draws almost her entire supply from Canada.

We stand too against the "national defense" program, in reality an armament program of the King government. Against whom are we defending ourselves, the polar bears? Even in the extremely unlikely event of Canada being attacked if she declared her neutrality in a world war, Roosevelt has made it obvious that U.S. imperialism will "defend" Canada. Such a defense means of course increased economic servitude of Canada to the U.S. and perhaps annexation. But the only way to guarantee that this will not happen is for the American workers to take power in their own country. The Socialist Workers League emphasizes the common destiny of the international working class and particularly of the Canadian and American working class. There is need for common labor organizations in both countries, a strengthening of the rank-and-file trade union ties, and the eventual perspective of proletarian rule in a United Socialist States of America. Only such a government can defend the interests of the masses.

Against pacifism we stand as uncompromisingly as against imperialism. The workers must prepare themselves to fight for power and to fight to maintain their own government against attack from without as well as from within. But to guarantee that the defense will be in the interests of the toilers it must also be in their hands. The C.C.F. and C.P. talk vaguely of "government control" of war industries. We stand for WORKERS CONTROL. We propose that the workers take over the armament factories, the nickle and copper mines, and run them so that no supplies will go abroad to feed imperialist wars, so that supplies may be sent instead to support the progressive struggle of the exploited colonials and of the Chinese masses, and so that Canadian workers may be in the position to assist the Russian workers' state when it is attacked. This, and not marching against German workers in an imperialist army "allied" to Russia, is the way for workers in a capitalist country to aid the U.S.S.R.

We advocate therefore:—

Workers Stoppage of Supplies to Japanese Imperialism.
Transference Of The Canadian War Budget To Public Works.
Not One Man, Not One Cent, For The Bosses.
Workers' Control Of War Industries.
Publication and Repudiation of All Canadian Military Commitments To Britain Or Other Imperialist Powers.
A United Socialist States of America —For The Defense Of The U.S.S.R. and World Socialism.

6. *Workers' Control, Not Capitalist "Nationalization"*

Our answer to the agitation for railroad unification, which is at present only a move by the C.P.R. to increase its profits, is EXPROPRIATION of the private interests and adminstration under workers' control. Only in this way can the lay-offs of thousands be prevented, wage rates protected, shorter hours instituted and the railoads operated without the piling up of public debts to pay high interest to wealthy bondholders. Expropriation does not mean complete confiscation; any aged or infirm who now depend for a living upon railroad bonds can be guaranteed protection under federal old age and sickness benefits. If any able-bodied stockholders and high-salaried officials can offer genuine technical assistance they may do so—at trade-union rates. What is intended is not "indemnification" on the one hand or mere vengeance on the other, but worker's control, elimination of superprofits to the few, of ruinous freight rates to the farmer and the passing of rich natural resources into private hands. Railway rates will be set not by St. James Street but by joint councils of the railway unions, farmers' and other primary producers' organizations.

As with the railroad problem, so with the other glaring examples of paralysis in our economy, only a bold program of WORKERS CONTROL can meet the immediate needs of the masses and clear the road for socialism. The C.C.F. Manifesto talks vaguely of "planning commissions" and "economic advisory boards ... free from day to day political interference". This is not the language of class-conscious socialists. Sound planning can be based only on the knowledge the workers themselves provide in their own factory committees and it can be put into practise only by a workers' socialist government.

The Hydro Enquiry has heard evidence pointing to the fact that although in theory the Ontario Hydro System is a publicly owned institution, it has been used deliberately in the interests of the power barons of St. James Street. Government ownership means capitalist control; workers' ownership means what it says. The Socialist Workers' League advocates WORKERS' CONTROL OF THE POWER INDUSTRY.

Only the toilers can put an end to the milking of Canadian economy by the railroad and power barons and only by a general revolutionary upsurge can they complete the expropriation of the capitalists. In preparation for the solving of this problem we place the following transitional demands on the order of the day:

A Unified Railway Under Workers' Management.
Workers' Control Of The Power Industry.

7. *The Farmers*

The debt-ridden farmer and the miserably-paid hired man have not yet generally been drawn from the mirage of Social Credit or from panicky dependence on the old-line capitalist parties. The C.C.F. and the C.P. have failed to organize the

MEANS BY REAL SOCIALIST ACTION

farmers because they have not proposed measures essentially different from those of the capitalist parties. Like them they talk about credit reform, banking control, rotating loans, etc. and sow illusions that "nationalization" or "public ownership" banks will in itself solve the financial problems of the farmers.

For the farmers there is no independent road to freedom from mortgage sharks, bank interest, exorbitant machine prices and freight rates. These are evils of capitalism which only a socialist state can finally abolish. Protective tariff legislation, which plays off the farmer against the worker, or vice versa and injures both as consumers, must be opposed. Only a strong working-class can wrest the railroads and banks from private capital and operate them for the benefit of the toilers on the farms and in the cities alike. The proletariat is, even in Canada, larger and of course more concentrated and more strategically placed than the farmers. Nevertheless the Canadian industrial worker is in need of unity with the poor farmer. How are the two to be brought into one coherent group?

First steps can be made through joint activity of the existing farm organizations, the selling cooperatives, etc., with trade unions, consumers' cooperatives, etc. in the city. Agreements for an upward sliding wage scale, for example, should be drawn up with the aid of farmer bodies. Such cooperative plans can then be extended into a plan for the production of agricultural machinery at cost. Such a plan must involve, (a) workers' control of agricultural machine factories (b) workers control of railroads (c) sale and shipment of machines to the farms at cost. In return the farmers receiving such machinery would agree to supply their farm products at cost to the trades unions and consumers cooperatives. By such methods the necessary alliance between the working farmer and the town worker can be inaugurated, and the way opened for joint political as well as economic action. Such progress should not stop short of joint programs of action but go on to the creation of a revolutionary farmer-labor party and government.

The practical participation of the exploited farmers in the control of different fields of economy will allow them to decide for themselves how quickly, to what extent and by what methods the land under their control should be socialized. The immediate task is not complete confiscation of farm lands but the repudiation of farm indebtedness, and the rescuing of land from the banks and mortgage companies and monopoly interests.

For Joint Price Committees Of City Workers and Working Farmers.
Farm Machines and Freighting At Cost By Workers Control.
Farm Products At Cost To Workers By Farmer Control.
For A Militant Farmer-Labor Party.

8. Federal Work For The Workless, At Trade Union Rates.

The C.C.F. and the C.P. and other alleged worker parties in Canada have all failed to organize any significant proportion of the one million Canadian unemployed. What little groups have been formed have not been tied in with the trade unions. The unemployed need not only work, but work at union rates, and this provision is equally necessary for the protection of the union worker himself. To provide work for all, there must also be sweeping reductions in the hours of work, without reductions in pay. The six-hour day and the five-day week are elementary slogans for which we fight.

In addition we agitate for a federal public works program coupled with a **SLIDING SCALE OF WORKING HOURS.** All the work in hand should be divided among the available workers. Canada can provide not only more work but **work for all,** and the more who work the less each will need to work. By such agitation too, the worker and the workless will be drawn together into a single group united in their fight for employment and for decent living standards.

Create Jobs By Reducing Work Hours Cut Hours — Not Wages.
$100 Million Federal Work Programs At Union Rates.
For The Union Of Worker and Workless.

9. The Fight For Better Living Standards.

Except in isolated sectors both the C.P. and the C.C.F. have also failed to win the trade union movement to socialist policies. This is not because the workers are not in need of socialism. It is because these parties can give no militant lead to the unions. C.P. and C.C.F. leaders solidarize themselves with the T.U. bureaucracies, instead of giving fighting support to the T.U. rank and file.

The immediate need of organized labor is protection of its existing standards in a period of growing reaction. Such anti-labor blows as the Padlock Law can not be fought with legalistic Civil Liberties Unions but only with the organized strength of the workers themselves. Only the threat of extensive strikes in Quebec will now defeat the Padlock Law. The Socialist Workers League requires its members wherever possible, to be active militants in the T.U.'s, opposing the compromise policies of the bureaucratic leaders in existing national and international unions.

Threatening the standards of the workers is the continued rise in prices. Fixed wage-scales are useless against sky-rocketing living costs. The Socialist Workers' League agitates in the trade unions for agreements based on a SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES. All collective agreements should, without allowing for decreases, insure automatic wage increases with each monthly rise in the price of consumers' goods. The amount of increase would be determined not by the bosses, but by committees of workers meeting with consumers' and farmers' cooperatives.

Only 20 per cent of the Canadian workers are now in trade unions and these are divided against each other. Our League works actively and unceasingly for trade union unity—not simply as such, but on the basis of rank and file control and progressive politics. We welcome the formation of permanent factory committees, joint committees between different unions in the same area, and we advocate the extension of such committees (which the workers form spontaneously in times of stress) into permanent national councils which can serve as the bridge to trade union fusion. The creation of such councils would greatly facilitate also organization of the unemployed with the employed.

Rally Trade Union Strength To The Defense Of Civil Liberties.
Strike Against Padlock Laws.
Raise Wages To Meet Rising Prices.
For Joint Trade Union Councils.
Toward Trade Union Unity.

10. How To Make Demands "Realizable".

The immediate source of income for works programs, for increased old age and mothers' pensions, unemployment and sickness insurance, crop insurance, and the like, must be direct taxation of the rich. To the King Government's pretense that there is no money obtainable to meet the needs of the masses, the workers must reply with a demand for the expropriation of the millionaires, the Fifty Big Shots of Canadian capital.

Under the existing situation, small factory owners, etc., may put forward their income figures or their account ledgers to prove that they can provide no higher wages. The workers can answer such arguments only with the logic of socialism: either run your business at T.U. wages and pay out from your profits to finance public make-work schemes or get out of business. If the capitalists cannot make money, turn the factories over to the workers; we will run them without the necessity to pay dividends to private "owners."

"Realizability" or "unrealizability" of such a program is, in the given instance, a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the class struggle. By means of struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery. The socialist state alone can permanently satisfy the progressive desires of the workers.

Expropriate The 50 Big Shots.
Bosses: Pay T.U. Rates Or Give Us Your Factories.

11. How To Fight Fascism.

The struggle to preserve and better the living standards of the Canadian toilers means the sharpening of the methods of counter-attack on the part of the bosses and their politicians. They are no longer satisfied with the official army and militia. Today, Arcand drills his hooligans. Other fascist scum follow suit. Governments nod approval. Hepburn retains his own special provincial array of strikebreakers and joins with others in creating secret "anti-sabotage" squads. The whole boss class prepares to use "extra-legal" methods of suppression.

The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial offices, or in the whining plaints of Leagues for Peace and Democracy. The fight against fascism starts in the factory—and ends in the street. It is a struggle that can not be conducted entirely within the framework of trade unions and political parties. Only workers defense guards, who feel the support of tens of thousands of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands.

The picket lines of strikes are the first gatherings of the proletarian army. They must become representative of all organized labor. Strike defense committees must be built and maintained after the strike, and incorporated in a nation wide system of workers defense guards.

Their strength should be increased by party defense squads; the Socialist Workers' League calls on the C.C.F. and the C.P. and all other working class organizations to join with it in the building of these vital organs of struggle. Marching side by side, the squads of each union and party can jointly defend the workers' press, their meetings and picket lines. There must be no repetition of Stratford and Sarnia thuggery.

Meet The Fascists Blow For Blow.
Make Picket Defenses Permanent.
For Every Workers Organization—A Defense Guard.
Joint Defense Committees.
Towards A Workers National Guard.

12. For An Independent Farmer-Labor Party.

The immediate action program which we here present is, as can be seen, a class-struggle program, not a program of parliamentary reform. But it is a program of transitional demands designed to lead the toilers out of the blind-alleys of reformism and the bogs of inactivity onto the revolutionary road. Such a program involves a political fight as part of the general struggle against capita-

continued on page eight

SOCIALIST ACTION

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Is Stalin Wooing the Fascists?

Stalin's opening speech before the eighteenth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (March 11) is a shameless admission that Russia's foreign policy is to be shackled, if possible, to the interests of nothing less than fascist Germany itself. As the Fourth International has repeatedly predicted, Stalin, ditched by "anti-fascist" and "peace-loving" Britain and France, is openly bidding for a military alliance with Hitler and Mussolini.

Even before the fall of Barcelona the Stalinist bureacracy made a new trade pact with Italy by which they boosted their trade from 20 to 50 million dollars—mainly in oil which Italy was using to send bombers to slaughter the workers of Spain. And this while Canadian Stalinists were howling for the boycott of fascist nations!

Since then, Walter Duranty, Stalin's journalistic lap-dog, who has more than once forecast important shifts in Soviet policy, has been busy scribbling articles on the theme that Germany, since Munich, is a major force for peace and stability in Europe. This is based on the theory that Hitler requires a breathing space in order to digest Austria and the Sudetenland. Then there is Stalin's notorious failure to offer refuge to the victims of Hitler's latest pogrom, or even to protest vigorously against it. On top of this is the equally notable fact that Hitler, in his last Reichstag speech, omitted the usual blistering attack on Russia.

Now Stalin discovers "a lack of any genuine basis for war between Germany and Russia". In fact it is, he weeps, the "democratic" nations which are trying to prod him into war with his natural ally, Hitler. What further betrayal of the workers is Stalin now preparing as the price of his marriage with fascism? Not the Ukraine he says. That is "Russian" territory. But Hitler will demand a high dowry from his shameless bride. He wants sweeping trade concessions in Russia to dump the products from his sweated factories. If the Russian workers do not rise and hurl the Stalinist gang out, the Russian State foreign trade monopoly, and with it the Workers' State itself, will be destroyed to make Europe safe for Fascism.

—*—*—*—*—

Hail the Socialist Workers' League

The Canadian section of the Fourth International has begun its existence as an independent organization at a crucial period in world history. Throughout the world every nation is armed to the teeth, the people breathlessly await new moves which will turn the globe into a blood-soaked trench once more. Canada too is in this imperialist game up to the hilt. Increasing its war budget to a sum exceeding seventy million dollars, it prepares for participation in the second World war. Secret commitments are made in covert conferences between British and Canadian statesmen, and hurried trips between Washington and Ottawa are a frequent occurrence. The Canadian people are kept in the dark. The ruling class fears the anger of the masses if its plans are revealed.

At the same time thousands of single, homeless unemployed wander aimlessly about the country, vainly seeking work, a meal, and shelter. The answer of the King government to this outrageous situation is to cut by two millions its budget for public works, in order to allow for drastic increase in the "defence" budget. Other sections of the ruling class hypocritically take up the cause of the single unemployed, offering the solution of military camps, with McCullagh's 'Leadership League" as the organizational expression of this movement. Thus capitalism's only solution to the ravaging social crisis is WAR.

In this situation the Canadian fascist movement is finding a fertile field for its demagogic propaganda. Arcand in Quebec, and Farr in Ontario, have launched vigorous organizational drives, and we have no reason to believe that they are not meeting with success. It is a well-known fact that in a downtown Toronto warehouse fascist troopers receive daily military drill. With no solution for their problems, the youth fall an easy prey to fascism. Fed up and thoroughly disgusted with a "democracy" that has meant nothing to them but unemployment and misery, they pay no heed to the sickening appeals of the labor fakers for a "defence of democracy"

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For the Class Struggle!

The Socialist Workers' League is the only organization in this country which champions the cause of the oppressed with a concrete program of action, based on the class struggle. As a matter of fact, it was this program which gave rise to the S.W.L.. Beginning as a left wing in the C.C.F. known as the Socialist Policy Group, after championing anti-war policies and progressive trade union tactics, this militant group culminated its activity by elaborating a program of action for the C.C.F., which the Ontario leadership of that organization suppressed before expelling its sponsors. The "democratic" socialists of the CCF were not even embarrassed at this flagrant display of bureaucratic police methods.

Previously, in 1937, the Workers' Party of Canada (formerly Left Opposition) had dissolved its organization and entered the C.C.F. after receiving assurances that there was a place for all revolutionaries in the C.C.F., and that its membership would be welcomed into the ranks. But the reformist bureaucrats of the CCF leadership had no political answer to the clear-cut revolutionary policies of the left wing tendency that grew up and organized into the Socialist Policy Group. It resorted to the time-honored method of expulsion.

The Socialist Workers' League knows no other method of fighting the powerful class enemy save that of the revolutionary class struggle. Its program is thoroughly anchored to this principle. To the threat of fascism it answers boldly with the call for the formation of "Workers Defence Guards". To the war maneuvers of the ruling class, "No support of any Imperialist war, whether Great Britain, the U.S. or any other Imperialism, and abolition of all secret diplomacy. To the ravaging economic crisis it answers with a program calling for public works, jobs and a decent living for all prefacing this with the assertion that socialism alone can fully meet the needs of the people.

New Deals, Leadership Leagues, Social Credit, and the thousand-and-one other demagogic schemes have been discredited time and again. CAPITALISM CANNOT BE MADE TO WORK. This realization is becoming more and more ingrained into the hearts and minds of thousands of Canadian workers. It cannot even satisfy the last right remaining to humanity in a society based on exploitation: the right to work. THEN LET IT PERISH!

—*—*—*—*—

Defend the Soviet Union!

The S.W.L. takes a clear stand against the reactionary Stalinist movement which poisons the international labor movement. It proclaims its hostility to the Kremlin gang and its agents throughout the world, who have usurped power in the Soviet Union and are sapping the foundations of the great Russian Revolution. The defense of the Soviet Union, as well as the cleansing of the international labor movement, require an unrelenting struggle against these adepts at murder and frame-ups, allies of the "democratic" imperialist bandits, and confederates of all that is conservative, reactionary and bureaucratic in the working class. Against the Stalinist conception that the defense of the Soviet bureaucracy requires the suppression of the proletarian revolution throughout the world, the S.W.L. raises the war-cry of the defense of the Soviet union and the achievements of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 by the extension of that revolution throughout the world; by the overthrow of the putrid, outlived capitalist order.

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Unite for Revolutionary Socialism!

Its ranks still small, its strength still inadequate for its mission, the Socialist Workers League nevertheless faces the future with supreme confidence in the final victory. Conscious of the great difficulties, it is also aware of the great prospects. The Canadian working class is militant and courageous. Its basic weakness lies only in its lack of class consciousness and revolutionary perspective. The organization of revolutionary Marxism will seek to imbue the toilers of Canada with this consciousness and perspective. That accomplished, no power in the world can prevent the victory of the proletariat and the transformation of society on a rational basis, without classes, without oppression, without exploitaton, and misery and war.

Rally to the ranks of the Socialist Workers' League! Become a soldier in the great battle for human liberation!

Long live the Fourth International!
Long live the International Socialist Revolution!

—*—*—*—*—

The Manager's Corner

Getting this paper out on a shoe-string hasn't been a very pleasant job. Frankly, we depend wholly on the financial support of our readers, and without your contributions it is not possible to continue publication. Our initial appeal for funds met with a splendid response, but the printer won't work for pledges. It is imperative that the pledges be paid promptly. In order to stabilize the circulation of the paper, we require a minimum of 200 paid-up subscribers. This should be a simple goal, if everyone puts his shoulder to the wheel and goes after subscriptions. The modest price of fifty cents makes this task even easier. Make it your business to get the subscription form below filled out, and sent to our office immediately. It is hardly necessary to state here the vital importance of a Canadian organ for the Fourth International. We are counting on your support in this undertaking. Your response to this first issue will definitely determine its fate.

THE MANAGER

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Address .....

City ..... Province.....

Anti-Trotskyist Slanders Exposed

Leadership League Leads Backwards

continued from page three

WHAT LEAGUE INTENDS

The League's program of reaction is nothing new on the Canadian scene. Hepburn and Duplessis were harbingers of it. Its only novel elements are

(a) a strong group of capitalist interests are going over the heads of the existing political parties to ensure a tighter control of those parties by controlling the votes directly through their League.

(b) These capitalist interests are consciously seeking to divert the middle class from giving its support to the labor movement. — Signs of a middle class move toward labor support were evident during municipal elections across Canada. Carefully woven through the League's program and strategies is the intention to prepare the road to war.

Doubtless, the strata from which the Leadership League is drawing most of its support, will eventually turn to fascism as the crisis deepens, if no revolutionary party shows the only way out for the exploited. But, the petty bourgeoisie in Canada has not yet entered into a process of rapid disintegration; it has not yet become thoroughly disillusioned with the parties of the right, let alone the phrase-mongering parties of the left. And while, it must be admitted that, in so far as the League's designs are not only anti-government but also anti-parliamentary they tend to strengthen fascist forces, it must also be stated that only the irresponsible alarmists of the C.P. confuse the reaction of the Leadership League with fascism.

WHEN FASCISM COMES

Fascism will arise only when the capitalist class, itself, is confronted by a deep-going breakdown in the economic system and the necessity for smashing the labor movement. Fascism is primarily a "way out" for the capitalists. They turn to it only as a last resource, for the maintenance of a large fascist burocracy is no inexpensive job and fascist military dictators are not always such responsive puppets as parliamentary cabinets.

The Canadian capitalists are not as yet in such dire straits. The majority of the workers are still beguiled by the capitalist political parties. The Leadership League then, is predominantly a device to canalize the vague discontent of the middle class, to prevent the middle class from turning to left wing parties and it is a device to politically prepare Canada for war and to put across within the limits of the parliamentary system such notorious schemes as the C.P.R.'s intended gobbling up of the C.N.R. at the toiler's expense.

To the extent that the Leadership League is growing, it has succeeded in drawing away political support from the existing parties. But the program on which the League is founded is certainly a far cry from being fascist. More efficient government and lower taxes have been catch phrases of every political party seeking to catch the farmer and petty bourgeois vote right from the days of Mackenzie and Papineau down to the Communist Party of today. McCullagh has merely put the stamp of reaction on these slogans—an outright use of them by the group of capitalists he represents.

C.P. PROTECTS CAPITALISM

Of course, the Stalinists, as the protectors of Canadian capitalist "democracy" break their hearts on seeing all the mud that McCullagh insists on throwing at Canada's "inefficient democracy."

The Daily Clarion, (Feb. 15) weeps because: "McCullagh's radio broadcasts...have one main object, to heap scorn and contempt on the institutions of Canadian democracy... McCullagh and his masters hope... to replace the parliament with a fascist type of big business dictatorship."

That is but the C.P.'s method of concealing from the Canadian toilers that the C.P. has abandoned its quondam assertions that the only permanent way out for Canadian toilers is the revolutionary overthrow of the Canadian "democratic" state. As yet, McCullagh and his masters find parliamentary institutions sufficient for their purposes. They do desire to make Canadian capitalist "democracy"—of which, they and the Stalinists are the greatest exponents—more efficient. In other words, McCullagh and Co. want a machine that will respond more quickly and at a lower cost, when they pull the strings. McCullagh and company are convinced that if the provincial governments were put out of the way Canadian capitalists would have to shell out to fewer ward-heelers and parliamentary yes-men. After all, since Canadian democracy up to now has permitted the Canadian Big Shots to accumulate with impunity billions of dollars, they have a "legitimate" interest in increasing the efficiency of their democracy.

INDEPENDENT ACTION NEEDED

But what do the Stalinists today offer the Canadian people in place of McCullagh's scheme? They idolize no other person than "Mahatma" King, who has carried on a passive resistance campaign against every demand of the workers for the last five years, who has refused to lift a finger to declare invalid the Duplessis Padlock

continued on page eight

Daily Clarion Caught Red Handed

LA GUARDIA'S COPS PROTECT NAZIS

THE DEMOCRATIC mounted police of democratic Mayor La Guardia of democratic New York recently rode down and slugged workers who tried to exercise their democratic right to assemble and picket a police-protected meeting of Nazis convened in New York by the U.S. German Bund.

Inside storm troopers provocatively paraded in uniforms adorned with swastikas while little Hitlers sent anti-Jewish provocations resounding through the rafters of Madison Square Gardens. Outside nearly 2,000 police were mustered by La Guardia to protect the assembled fascist hooligans.

C. P. DISREGARDED

Disregarding Communist Party and "peace and democracy" appeals that they stay away from the meeting, close to 100,000 anti-fascists jammed the streets surrounding the Gardens in a mighty counter-demonstration. Only the Socialist Workers Party, (Fourth International) had issued an appeal for the anti-nazi picketing.

Within the next few days similar anti-fascist mobilizations picketed Bund meetings in several other U. S. cities. On each occasion the anti-fascist demonstrators disregarded C. P. appeals that they stay away and rallied to the militant appeals of the Socialist Workers Party.

The Daily Clarion heard of the New York demonstration. It writes its editorials several hours before its front page news. So on February 21, in one of its editorials, headed "New York Rebuffs the Nazi Ruffians," the Clarion wrote in part:—

"New York got a little of Nazi methods on Monday night. Screaming anti-Jewish provocations resounded through the rafters of Madison Square Gardens....

"But the significant thing about Monday's meeting was not the storm troopers inside the Gardens. Outstanding was the presence in the streets of 100,000 New Yorkers, justifiably expressing their indignation at the desecration of Washington's memory by the gang of spies and conspirators on the platform . . ."

BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC LA GUARDIA.

But then the Clarion C.P. writer ran into difficulties. What were democratic La Guardia's police doing but protecting the growth of fascist hooliganism? It was a difficult spot for the C.P. writer, since his party has abandoned its old belief that both democracy and fascism are but two phases of the same capitalist dictatorship and has become the most outspoken defender of bourgeois democracy. Anyhow, the writer added:

"Mayor La Guardia, admirable democrat and anti-fascist that he is, was wrong in giving the Nazi enemies the protection of the Bill of Rights, the very document they wished to destroy. But the citizens of New York were under no illusions as to the real nature of the meeting.

"They expressed their opinion in no uncertain manner. They earned the thanks of all who detest the immoral, evil and dangerous propaganda of the nazis."

CLARION LIES BARED

Then, apparently, some time later, the Clarion learned that the U.S. Communist Party had asked the New York workers to stay away from the gathering and that only the "Trotskyist" Socialist Workers League had called for the anti-fascist demonstration. So the Clarion in a front page story wrote in part:

"New York, N.Y. Feb. 21.—Thirteen persons were arrested in and around Madison Square Gardens last night as a result of disturbances organized by Trotskyte members of the Socialist Workers Party, that marked what Nazis in America called their 'Americanization Rally' . . .

"Nearly 2,000 police struggled to keep order among the thousands of spectators who crowded the streets."

ONLY 4th INT. TRUE TO LENIN

Not content with abandoning the militant fight against fascism, the C. P. of C. is now willing to play stool pigeon and help the police of New York make charges stick against those who "earned the thanks of all who detest the immoral, evil and dangerous propaganda of the Nazis."

How scared the C. P. of C. leadership is that its membership and other workers may see through all the Stalinist lies hurled at the Trotskyites!

How the C. P. leadership fears that its followers will realize that the C.P. of C. has abandoned revolutionary Marxism and has traded the militant fight against fascism for the aligning of one bloc of imperialist powers against another imperialist bloc!

How the C.P. leadership lives in daily dread lest its membership awake to the fact that today only the Fourth International adheres to the principles of Bolshevik-Leninism.

But the truth will out.

SOLE SURVIVOR

Of the whole 1917 Central Committee of Lenin's Bolshevik Party, only Stalin remains in office today. All the others, with the exception of Trotsky, have been "liquidated". The fate of each member is given elsewhere on this page.

McCullagh Benefits . .

Continued from page 7

law and who was responsible for the gassing and the brutal beating of the Post-Office sit-downers in Vancouver but a little while ago. With the Stalinists, Right Hon. Mackenzie King, liberal, is counterposed to plain Mr. McCullagh, reactionary. But to the Canadian masses King's liberalism is non-existent except in so far as it finds expression in unemployment, low wheat prices and complete indifference to the plight of the people. McCullagh's unitary "democratic" government and King's federal "democratic" government differ only in form; in content they are still the political expression of the capitalist class and as such must be displaced by an Independent Workers' and Farmers' Government.

STALINISM VS. THE TRUTH

"The Roosevelt Administration represents to a great extent the growing democratic and progressive movement and the forward march of the awakening millions of workers who suffered in the past from imperialist oppression as did the Cuban workers"... The struggle for liberation cannot be anti-United States". (Roca, leader of the Communist Party of Cuba, at its convention, as reported by the Daily Worker —their emphasis).

"The land and the crops and the labour of (Cuba) are still 90 per cent owned by Wall Street; and so long as that ownership remains, there can be neither stability nor real freedom for the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands". (J.F. Horrabin: HOW EMPIRES GROW).

An Open Letter

To Members of the Communist Party

We address ourselves to those workers and militants within the ranks of the C.P. of C. who in their own minds and hearts still preserve the aim and ideals of the workers' revolution, who remain within the C.P. of C. because they believe that by doing so they are serving the cause of socialism.

In 1917 and 1918 the imperialists and reactionaries said that the Russian Revolution was made by a gang of cut throats, bandits, spies, murderers. We know that you do not believe that, but that really you are one with us in regarding the Russian Revolution as the greatest and most magnificent event in the entire history of mankind.

Yet, today Stalin tells the same story as the imperialists of 1917-18. By the trials and purges he has instituted and carried through, Stalin has executed virtually the entire membership of Lenin's Central Committee, the Central Committee which led the October Revolution—and, according to Stalin, those members have been executed because they were "cut throats, bandits, spies, murderers', the words of the imperialists of 1917.

Let us suppose that the accused were guilty of all the charges. But Stalin tells you that socialism has "irrevocably triumphed' within the Soviet Union. What kind of "socialism" is it, then, that turns all of its founders and builders into 'mad dogs", that makes them prefer to work for the blackest fascism rather than for the "socialist" regime?

But you yourselves know in your hearts that the trials were gigantic frame-ups. You know that the trials in no slightest degree involved the ideal of socialism; that, in fact, they were the direct contradiction of socialism. You know that what they did prove utterly and completely was the final bankruptcy of Stalinism; that Stalinism and everything it represents has become the destroyer and not the continuator of the Revolution. You know that the executions were designed to remove all sources of possible criticism of the Stalinist bankruptcy, its reformism and social patriotism.

Why then are you silent? Why not stand up in your Party branches and demand answers to the questions which in your mind shout for replies?

Your continued silence aids reaction.

Do not abandon your old revolutionary ideals. Join with us in defending them—the ideals of the classless socialist society.

You will find those ideals guarded untarnished within the growing regiments of the Fourth International. In the face of the nightmare trials, in the face of the yawning crisis, the march of totalitarian reaction, the black clouds of approaching war, let us carry forward our ideals, to a sure lasting triumph.

Socialist Workers League of Canada (Fourth International)

MURDERED FOUNDERS OF BOLSHEVISM

Following is the list of the members of Lenin's general staff of 1917, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party in 1917, and the fates of the members:—Rykov, shot; Bukharin, shot; Sverdlov, dead; Zinoviev, shot; Kamenev, shot; Trotsky, in exile; Lenin, dead; Kollantai, missing?; Uritsky, dead; Krestinsky, shot; Smilga, shot; Nogin, dead; Dzerzhinsky, dead. Rubnov disappeared. Sokolnikov, in prison; Lomov, ?; Shomyan, dead; Berzin, ?; Muranov, disappeared; Artem, dead; Stassova, disappeared; Miliutin, missing; Joffe, suicide; Stalin, the sole survivor.

Leadership League Please Copy

I am not a labor leader. I do not want you to follow me or anyone else. If you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of the capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into this promised land if I could, because if I could lead you in, someone else would lead you out."

Eugene Debs.

Their Democracy

continued from page three

how democracy actually works, and point out who pays the capitalist parties and who will therefore call the tune. But that is not enough. What positive program have these so-called socialists got to offer for decaying capitalism? More simply and directly, what do they propose to do about the Bren gun contract?

These C.C.F. parliamentarians call for "nationalization" of the arms industry, leaving complete control in the hands of the Liberal Party which is paid by capitalist industries and which is expected to obey those who pay.

Away with all this graft and corruption. Let the workers control and manage the arms factories themselves, then the workers will be able t o decide for themselves whether the bombs under their control will be used against striking workers; they will decide as to whether the arms under their control will be used to aid British imperialism. The C.C.F parliamentarians can afford to cry "nationalization" because they know that it means no fundamental change in the present system.

Program of Action

continued from page five

lism, and so the organization of a fighting political party of the toilers. The Socialist Workers League is not yet that party, but it is the vanguard of those who will build it. We declare the necessity for a united class-struggle party of workers and poor farmers in this country. We link up such questions as expropriation with the question of the seizure of power. Only the general revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat can complete the expropriation of the capitalists, in Canada as elsewhere. But by fighting for immediate demands in this period of growing reaction ,we prepare the proletariat for its ultimate tasks. Our program of transitional demands is a program of preparation for the final struggle, and that program involves the building of a mass party of class struggle.

The perspective of a government by such a party, a militant farmer-labor party, is also part of the transitional struggle, leading on to the dictatorship of the proletariat for the establishment of socialism.

For A Militant Action Program.
For A Militant Party Of The Canadian Toilers.
For An Independent Farmer-Labor Covernment.

"A first print dress....

For southern or cruise wear, it's completely devastating in a bi-color effect in rayon crepe in bisque shade with the yoke and sleeves of luggage-tan". (Fashion column, Daily Clarion, Mar. 11, 1939).

Just the thing for an anti-fascist rally in Bermuda or a hunger march along Palm Beach.

SOCIALIST ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

VOL. II, NO. 3 | TORONTO, ONTARIO MAY 1, 1939 | Price 5 cents

2000 Relief Workers Stand Firm Against Cuts

CALL OF SWL LEADERS FOR PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM AT UNION WAGES IS BACKED 100% BY YORK AND SCARBORO MILITANTS

Since the beginning of April two thousand relief workers in York and Scarboro Townships of the Greater Toronto area have been carrying on a solid, militant strike for the restoration of all cuts handed them as an April Fool's present by the Hepburn government, and for a public works program at trade union wages.

Government authorities, the boss press, and some doubtful labor "friends" of the strike have sown confusion as to the issues involved. Here are the facts.

TEN PERCENT CUT

Prior to April 1st the municipalities had been subsidized and permitted to pay, by Provincial authority, an extra 10 per cent. above Campbell Report food allowance to their employable relief recipients in order that these men might be put to work on municipal services. This had been done (to the considerable profit of the municipalities, as is proved by York's saving of $52,000, yearly) Hepburn, on April 1st, withdrew this 10 per cent. on pleas of "economy", but both municipal and provincial authorities ordered the men to continue working, or be cut off releif entirely.

S.W.L. GIVES LEAD

The splendid strike protest of the traditionally militant York workers is told in a separate article in this issue. (Page 3.) Here follows the story of Scarboro's equally vigorous solidarity with York.

In Scarboro, as in other municipalities, the Council were ordered not only to deduct 10 per cent. from food allowances but also to cut off school and medical supplies, dental care and garden seeds (which the semi-starved workers had been counting upon to grow a few vegetables to eke out their dole), and to greatly reduce clothing allowances.

SCARBORO'S STORY

On receipt of the cuts there was a spontaneous move by workers for strike action, which was given correct leadership by the Scarboro branch of the Socialist Workers League, as subsequent events have amply proved. Sixty workers responded to their call Monday, April 3rd, and met in a

(continued on page 5)

Stalinist Goons Slug Carl Hichin

S.W.L. Organizer Beaten For Militant Activity

WINNIPEG, Man. — Carl Hichin, formerly prominent member of the C.P. of Canada and now an active organizer in Western Canada for the Socialist Workers League, was badly beaten up by Stalinist hoodlums on April 16th. This was the second beating Hichin has suffered at the hands of Stalinists in the past few months. Hichin recognized his latest assailant, as a well known member of the Winnipeg Stalinist "strong arm" squad.

Earlier on the day of the more recent attack Hichin had spoken from the floor at a meeting of unemployed held in the I.W.W. hall. In his remarks, he criticized the C.P.'s sabotage of the local single jobless organization and suggested militant action by the jobless to defeat an impending worsening of relief conditions.

Hichin was followed from the meeting by a couple of known Stalinists. The assault soon followed.

The Socialist Workers' League organizer later told Socialist Action that during the assault his assailant told him if he (Hichin) did not "get out of Winnipeg within the week" he would "be fixed once and for all".

Hichin refused to take court action against his assailant as suggested by the police.

KING PREPARES TO PUT CANADA IN WAR

Capitalist Politicians, Generals, Press-Barons, all thump war-drums — only fear of civil war delays conscription policy.

The boss politicians of Canada sensing the rising anger of the Canadian masses against war, have taken these weeks to vying with each other in hollow proclamations of their peaceful intentions.

Manion, die-hard imperialist, and leader of the most reactionary federal party in this country, beat King to the gun by suddenly announcing that "Canadian youth should not be conscripted to fight outside the borders of Canada", McKenzie King, manoeuvred out of the careful silence which has been his only previous contribution to the solution of national and international problems, has to announce that his government will certainly not conscript Canadians to fight overseas.

But in both speeches the wording betrayed empty promises, served up for the moment solely to head off independent worker and farmer organization against imperialist war.

In the very act of abjuring conscription both these fakirs made it clear that the alternative they proposed was not neutrality but voluntary enlistment.

King Means War

"We have full faith", said King "in the readiness of Canadian men and women to rally to resist aggression by any country seeking to dominate the world by force.. Canadian neutrality will be determined by an aggressor nation.. Parliament will decide the extent and nature of participation in any European conflict"

What do these phrases slipped into the midst of demagogic verbiage, mean? They mean simply that King with a safe majority of his own party in Parliament, will use the parliamentary machinery to do what he personally appears to be promising not to do—put Canada into war. And, while parliament is rushing through a war declaration, the same propaganda hooey for voluntary enlistment will be unloosed on the people as in 1914. Germany, or whoever it may be, will be declared already an "aggressor nation", the Canadian people will be asked "to rally to resist" such aggression —by herding into the troopships once more.

Similarly the dove-like Dr. Manion expatiated on the "vulnerability of Canada", advocated "full co-operation short of conscription", and declared

(continued on page 2)

Starver of the Workers

Premier Hepburn whose government has cut striking relief workers off the rolls. The workers, already getting half what medical officials consider proper subsistence, were cut 10% more last month. When York and Scarboro Townships struck solid against the cut and for a public works program at union wages, Hepburn replied "no work, no relief". For the stirring and continued resistance of York workers see page three.

RALLY Against Arcand Thugs, Cor. Yonge and Albert, May 5, - 7.30 p.m.

CCF LEADERS LINE UP FOR EMPIRE WAR

Woodsworth & Coldwell accept Conscription — Betray Socialist Principles even before war.

John Mitchell

Ontario CCF chairman and social-patriot whose followers rebelled against C.C.F. warmongering pollicies.

"At this critical time we should utilize the existing machinery of collective peace action", said J.S. Woodsworth, leader of the CCF, in his parliamentary speech in reply to the anti-conscription announcements of King and Manion. Lest Canadian workers run off with the notion that he was advocating the collective action of the world working-class, Woodsworth went on to suggest that the government (that is, the Canadian capitalist class) should do three things:

First, it should stop exporting war materials to Germany. Woodsworth did not indicate what motive the Liberal government would offer its factory-owning backers to win them away from the profitable business of selling death-supplies to Hitler.

Second, it (ie., again, the capitalist King government) should copy the U. S. and "impose a super-tax on goods from Germany or any other aggressor nation". Woodsworth did not offer to define the other aggressors, nor did he suggest how the rich importers who also back the Liberal Party were to be persuaded to support the passing of such legislation.

Woodsworth's Futility

Third, "we" (i.e., still, apparently, the Canadian capitalist government "should take a certain share of the responsibility for the refugees from some of these distressed countries". Mr. Woodsworth hastened to add that this wasn't a proposal for allowing refugees into Canada. O, no. "I might be inclined to oppose additional immigrants at this time". Not a proposal for immigration—then what? Just a proposal "to share some of the burdens".

The incredible vagueness and futility of this program, coming at a moment when Europe is at the point of explosion, is a measure of the senility which has overtaken not only Woodsworth but the whole CCF leadership.

Instead of organizing the masses for resistance to war — Woodsworth suggests that the capitalists he "opposes" hunt for the ghost of the League of Nations and, while hunting, slap Hitler's wrist with export bans and import taxes.

Coldwell Ignores Workers

While the real power to stop war and fascism, the power of the workers and farmers independently organized, lies unharnessed in this country, Coldwell, Woodsworth's CCF lieutenant at Ottawa, asks King for a League of Nations meeting "to work out a peace policy" (New Commonwealth, Mar. 30), and Woodsworth himself calls that defunct thieves' kitchen "the only existing machinery in the world today for peace".

Woodsworth, with one worried eye on the bewildered workers in his own party, slips in brave phrases, of course, to the effect that Britain too won her Empire by ruthless aggression, that the last war "ruined democracy" and created the present fascist dictatorships. "Perhaps" we ought to be neutral. At least "we should think twice" before defending such an Empire. But the second thought is evidently to be arrived at in a League conference— that is, at a conference which would be dominated by none other than Britain herself and her imperialist partner, France. Germany, Italy, and Japan, have of course long since withdrawn from it.

CCF's M.P.s Accept War

And what of conscription? The resigned Mr Woodsworth feels that "if Canada got seriously involved in war, conscription would be bound to come. If it did, it should be preceded by conscription of wealth on a wholesale scale". Like the Social-democrats of 1914, Woodsworth and Coldwell are concerned only about a proper "moral and idealistic" send-off to war.

Let the League "establish an international police force to maintain order", says Mr Coldwell. If the criminal nations resist arrest — then of course we'll have to have conscription. Conscription of wealth, too — it is a phrase Mr. Hepburn uses with equal aplomb, a vague phrase. But the workers know exactly what is meant by "conscription of manpower". And against this the CCF leaders do not even go so far as King or Manion!

T. C. Douglas, still another CCF federal member, speaking later in Toronto, put the Social-patriot position quite clearly. "If war comes, and the Canadian people are determined to go in, we as socialists will demand that the government will conscript the necessary wealth to carry on the world war". In, other words, if the Liberal-dominated House of Commons declares war, we will do our best to lead our socialist following into the slaughter, if you capitalists will allow us to save our faces by asking you to direct the wealth of the country also into the work of murder.

Leaders Already Traitors

The one value of the CCF contributions to the war-debate in the House of Commons has been this—that the

→p.2

YORK GIVES SIGNAL IN JOBLESS FIGHT

Resolute Struggle Wins Public and T.U. Support

Fifteen hundred relief workers in Greater Toronto's famous York township, traditional barometer of unemployed militancy in Ontario, registered "stormy weather" last month and came out unanimously for strike against a vicious cut in their already miserable living standards. Quickly joined by a hundred percent strike in Scarboro, and later by strikers in half a dozen other districts of Geater Toronto, the unemployed have repudiated all class-conciliatory attempts to sell them out, by certain ex-leaders. They are standing solid against both local and provincial authorities, who have retaliated with police threats and with cold-blooded orders to cut them off relief entirely.

Under the brilliant leadership of T.J. Montague, B Butterworth and others of the Amalgamated Union of Unemployed, the York strikers marched en masse with the unemployed of other townships to Queen's Park on April 24th, to demand restoration of all cuts, and the institution of public works at trade union rates. Refused access to Hepburn, and their demands denied by his underlings ,they marched back and are continuing the strike as solidly as before.

1500 Affected

The cut affected 1500 heads of families in York township. Of these 55% were employable workers who had voluntarily undertaken relief labour with the municipal works' department, for an additional 10% above the relief rate. Now with the cut, employable and unemployables both receive the 25% rate. It goes without saying that if the employable workers had accepted the cut and gone on working, further inroads would have immediately been made on relief standards. The unemployable workers would undoubtedly have been promptly reduced to 15% above the Campbell report.

On Tuesday April 4 '39, when the first reduced vouchers were received the men walked spontaneously off the jobs. They know there is money to restore the cut. Hepburn had announced a $2,000,000 surplus in the budget and is levying a 2c gasoline tax for "social services".

Five Cents For a Meal

They know that relief standards were already 50% below the minimum for health set by the Ontario Medical Association. They know that Dr. Hugh Cooke, hospitalization inspector for York County, had said in announcing that hospitalization costs were up over last year: "There should be higher standard of relief if we are to keep people out of hospital." They refuse to suffer further deprivations when already, prior to the cut, the mother in a family of four had to provide 84 meals — less than 5c per meal — out of $4.14 per week (plus seven quarts of milk and ten loaves of bread). They see no reason why their wives and children should go hungrier still in the interests of the bondholders.

The Amalgamated Union of Unemployed which leads the strike has four locals in the four sections of York township. Membership in the union has boomed and now has passed the 1800 mark. Each local sends delegates to the District Council of the Unemployed Union, and a strategy committee struck off by this council determines policy. Joint action with the other municipalities in the Toronto district is conducted through a convention of delegates which meets weekly.

T.U.s Support Strikers

The strikers early showed their solidarity both with the unemployable workers and with the organized trade union movement. The strike has been endorsed and supported financially by the Civic Employees Union, the Toronto District Trades and Labour Council, the Township Firefighters' Association, the Mount Dennis Liberal Association and the general public.

Certain elements in the union, fearing a militant struggle, proposed that the cut be accepted as long as it meant the abolition of relief labour. This defeatist position was rejected resoundingly by the strikers under the militant leadership of Montague, Butterworth, Palmer, Wilson, J. Woods, L. Coates and others.

Municipal Council, the "elected representatives of the people" in York township is cutting some fancy capers in its attitude to the strike. At first it voted to refuse to accept the cut, then feeling Hepburn's boot, erased the resolution from the books, and voted 6-to-1 to accept the cut. But they still voted 4-to-2 against forcing the unemployed to work at the reduced 25% rate! Yet on their next voucher day after the outbreak of the strike, those refusing to work had another 10% cut from their relief Notice was served by the Reeve that further refusal meant being cut off relief altogether.

(continued on page 4)

The Worker's Angle

By Robertson

"If we are attacked, we will assume the initiative from the first hour and annihilate the enemy on its own territory". So spoke Mekhlis, Russian vice-commissar for defense, at Kiev on April 6. He was talking about Germany, and when he said annihilate he made it clear he meant the annihilation of all Germans. All Germans are referred to by Stalinites and Chamberlainites alike as "the enemy".

And when the German working-class is "annihilated" who, Mr. Mekhlis, will set up the German Soviet State? When Trotsky led the Red Army, the enemy was the capitalist class. The workers, in every country, were not to be annihilated but freed.

* * * * *

A gentleman calling himself "the Canadian peace poet" was banned from distributing free buttons marked "peace" to Toronto school-children. The post-war pacifists are out of fashion with the school-boards now. This is the day of pre-war jingoists. None of the "authorities" made any move against the Stalinite "Stop Hitler" buttons for May Day. The bosses know the difference between peace propaganda and war propaganda.

* * * * *

Similarly, the Ontario Trustees and Ratepayers Association have scrapped the clause in their educational platform declaring war "the greatest menace to civilization and democracy" They have a new clause now, "to instil pride in the Empire's achievements and the sacrifice of Canada's sons in the cause of liberty and justice".

The trustee who introduced the revised (1914) form, complained, "there are some peculiar ideas abroad about war". Yes, Mr. Trustee, there are. The workers still have a 'peculiar" idea that what you said the first time was a hell of a lot nearer the truth. As you'll find when you try to suck them in again on an imperialist war racket.

* * * * *

Boys will be boys. The Toronto Lakeshore Junior Conservative Club listened for two hours to Alex Hall, aging Conservative Party flag-flapper, urging that they oppose the anti-conscription stand of Party-leader Manion. Then they voted unanimously AGAINST conscription

Unlike Mr. Hall, the boys stand some chance of getting shot in the war. What they don't know is that Mr. Manion will get them shot just as readily as Mr.Hall.

* * * * *

Sir Joseph Flavelle died last month, leaving $6,053,038.26 and a flock of pleased relatives and parsons to divvy up the loot. For the workers and the returned soldiers from whom Pious Joe took the jack, there was left $00.00.

* * * * *

Sir Reginald Hildyard, Governor of Bermuda, quit in a pet when they wouldn't let him have a motor car, and yet a car was used to collect garbage. Reggie should have stayed. The civic workers would no doubt have been glad to collect him with the garbage.

* * * * *

In Australia, they tried a "voluntary register" of men for war-service. But somehow there doesn't seem to be many Aussies who want to die in Europe to save the South Seas from Japan. So the government is calling it an "obligatory national register" now. A rose by any other name may smell as sweet, but somehow conscription by any other name just smells—even in a democratic Commonwealth of our democratic Empire.

* * * * *

"Spaniards are likely to put aside the differences of the past and co-operate in building a greater and more enlightened Spain .... The prospect that the common people will share in the good things of life in the future as a result of orderly processes is brighter today than it was when the civil war began".

Who is this talking? Franco? Hearst? No—just the leading editorialist of Toronto's liberal-Stalinite Daily Star. But of course he isn't one of the million Spanish workers being rounded up for jail or firing squad these weeks, nor one of the half-million plague-infested Spanish worker-soldiers caged on a filthy French beach by the "democratic" government of Daladier.

* * * * *

Ottawa is supposed to have limited arms profits in the next war to 5% The King government has made great play of its legislation to prevent profits being made out of war. Workers should study the debate on this question in the Senate on April 21, when big business representatives themselves exposed the hollowness of suggested legislation. The following points were brought out:

(1) The proposed limitation of 5% profit applies only to non-competitive contracts. It won't apply to firms receiving direct orders from the government(that is, to most armament orders.)

(2) There is no way proposed to check whether or not any firm is making more than 5%.

(3) There will be no tax on profits made from supplying other materials to the army. "Meat packers," said Senator Meighen mildly, "might well make profits in the event of war".

(4) There would be no "incentive" for shareholders to invest in armament factories because they could make more by investing elsewhere. No one suggested in the Senate, that "patriotism" could possibly be effective as an incentive. That serves only for the working-stiff.

'Peg Organizer Sees Desperate Need For Class-Struggle Party

BRACKEN DIVERTS FARM REVOLT — CP DUMPS JOBLESS — UKRAINIANS REBEL

By Carl Hichin

Winnipeg Man. — It would be difficult to over-emphasize the depressing effect of this return to Winnipeg. Broken down homes that look dreary. Overcrowding so rife that health laws cannot be enforced. Empty lots strewn with refuse. Thousands of jobless aimlessly strolling the streets. A whole large section of the populace rapidly settling down to low relief standards of life. Thread-bare clothing patched and repatched, lacking the "saving" color of the traditional Dutchman's pants. Broken men, wearied women. Drabness and poverty. All these rapidly impress themselves on the mind of the re-visitor to the section of Winnipeg north of Portage, that section where workers live, or used to, and now can only exist.

Militant labor activity is practically nil. The C.C.F. prepares only for the Federal election. The Independent Labor Party is mostly concerned with retaining its seats on the municipal and provincial governing bodies. The C.P. drifts the same in doldrums of reformism. The Socialist Party has shut itself up completely in an ivory tower of petty debate. The Trades and Labor Council is slowly but surely being tied to reformist civic politics. Only the I. W.W., benefitting from C.P. desertion of the single jobless, is experiencing a minor revival. But by the time these words appear in print the first branch of the Socialist Workers' League will have been established in the prairie metropolis.

Wheat, War, and Work

Wheat, War and Want of Work — these are the W's on everybody's lips.

Gardiner's 60 cent wheat proposal has stirred up a hornet's nest — buzzing with deliberately fostered confusion.

Premier Bracken of Manitoba, by plane, auto, and train, is criss-crossing the wheat belt, determined to head the popular demand for the maintenance of the government subsidized price of 80 cents. The farmers' wheat pools insist that 90 cents is necessary if the farmer is to survive. The C.C.F. is reaping political capital in Saskatchewan with its promise of 90 cent wheat if the CCF is returned to power. The C.P., — late into action of any kind, so late that Buck had to wire the Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba parties to awaken them,— is now beginning to blast away in a most dangerous manner.

It is difficult to grasp the full meaning of Bracken's role. The following facts may help however. Bracken retains office in Manitoba only by virtue of a working agreement with the Social Crediters. His is, in fact, a minority government. Bracken may go to the country this year. He needs increased farm support. Ottawa corridors recently rumored Bracken as a federal rival to Gardiner who was reported at one time to be linked with Hepburn and Duplessis. Crerar, the late Senator Yorke, and Bracken, were the 3 spokesmen who broke, and then headed back, into the liberal fold, the post-war militant fight of the Manitoba farmers. Crerar got a cabinet post. Yorke got a seat in the red chamber. Bracken has been premier of Manitoba continuously since 1922.

Bracken Heads off Farmers

It might well be that Bracken is attempting once again to head the "revolt" back into "safe" liberal channels. He might, along with Gardiner be sharing a Liberal Party division of labor. Certainly Bracken is heading off independent action by the farmers He is thwarting the possibility of forming a much needed militant farmer - labor party.

In the last mentioned objective he is being admirably — or miserably— assisted by the ex-Communist Party. In practise the Buck line is to bunch together all voicing opposition to the new low-pegged price and to direct the opposition NOT against the King Government but against Minister of Agriculture Gardiner in person. This heads the "revolt" up in Brackens back-yard.

Recent Saskatchewan activities have indicated that the C.P. intends to support King "progressive" Liberals in the approaching federal elections. The C. P's present strategy is bent to suit that line. From the C. P. camp there has not come one proposal that would break the farmers away from the domination of capitalist parties. There has been no proposal for needed independent united action by the farmers and their organizations. There has been no raising of the needed slogan "Form an independent, militant farmer-labor party".

Farmers May Lose 50 Millions

Tory and Soc. Credit influence has been felt in some districts, where at meetings protesting farmers have voted in favor of resolutions that their sitting federal liberal members should resign if the cut goes through.

RATS TO U.S.A.

Juan Negrin. Stalin made him stooge premier of Loyalist Spain. When Miaja, his General and a Communist Party member, handed Madrid to Franco, Negrin fled to the U.S.A

Estimates vary, but the new low figure will mean a loss in farm income of anywhere from $30,000,000 to $50,000,000.

Here and there, unfortunately there is raised a very dangerous thought. During the world war wheat rose to above the $2 a bushel mark. As undoubtedly was intended, some farmers — few but dangerous — are wistfully looking toward another European conflict as a "salvation". An energetic, independent fight by the farmers for the old or an increased price would become at this moment a strong anti-war movement.

C.P. Deserts Jobless

There are over 4,000 single jobless in Winnipeg living on slumgullion sloshed out in a sloporium. Because of their potential militancy, because they have no votes and therefore cannot be made to fit into the C.P. plans to put its party branches on a ward electoral footing, the C. P. has deserted them holus bolus. The same is true of some western points, including Port Arthur and Fort William. As a result the I.W.W has been able to revive itself a little by doing some propaganda and organizational work among the transient single men.

Ukrainians Disillusioned

Lenin during the London Iskra days frequently used workers' contributions to his press as a thermometer indicating the condition of the Russian working class. If he were alive today, and engaged in the Stalinist Ukrainian field — which he would not be — Lenin would have to extend the sub-zero markings on his thermometer.

At the turn of the year the Winnipeg Ukrainian press campaign reached only about one third of its quota. Four years ago such a failure was unheard of. More recently at an important anniversary celebration the Ukrainian C. P. workers contributed only $44 to their press. "Official" donations swelled this to about $300, but even then the figure was far far below previous years. Demoralization is rampant. Disappointment with the present C.P. line is rife. Opposition to Stalinist imposed conditions in the Soviet Ukraine can no longer be quietened completely at mass membership meetings.

Unfortunately there is beginning to be heard amongst these one-time glorious militants the cry — "Anything but Stalinism". The danger of an exodus to the right is imminent Fortunately there is also a very marked increase in sympathy and interest in the Fourth International The latter needs encouragement and organization—and that immediately

YORK STRIKERS FIRM

(Continued from page 3)

On April 24, when 2500 unemployed paraded all the way to Queen's Park and sent a delegation which interviewed the Deputy-Minister and Minister of Public Welfare, the hypocrisy and buck-passing of the municipal council and Queen's Park stood clearly revealed.

The Hepburn Government disclaimed responsibility for the further cuts imposed on the strikers, but declared it would back up any municipality which reduced the relief of those refusing to work!

2500 March on Parliament

The firmness of the strikers in the face of all this "finagling" has already wrung concessions from the authorities. The municipal council has been forced to appropriate $12,000 to add permanent unionized employees to the Works' Department Further, relief labour has been declared illegal for garbage and ash collection, and schoolguard duty. As we go to press, the ranks of the unemployed continue to hold firm, and in all the Township there are only three known scabs.

The strike has every chance of victory if the strikers keep up their splendid morale, continue to demonstrate on mass picket lines to keep their case before the public, and fight relentlessly until every point on their program is gained.

Vets Canvassed for War

WINNIPEG Man. — Returned soldiers here report they are being canvassed as to what duties they would prefer to resume in the event of the outbreak of war.

One veteran told Socialist Action he had been visited by a woman canvasser who stated she represented the Canadian Legion. The canvasser carried a detailed record of the visited veteran including his D.S.C.R. rating. On the basis of that rating the veteran was informed he could among a dozen or so other things serve as a coast guard, an interpreter or a recruiting officer.

The new "recruiting officers" are said to be receiving many hot and hostile receptions, but the very fact that they are canvassing for recruits is taken as indicative of King's current preparations for war and of the King government's desire to pick out the veteran anti-war elements.

Continued from page one

SCARBORO STRIKE

field adjoining the Township Yard to organize the strike.

Immediately, mistaken and unpopular attempts were made to keep the men working. Undoubtedly this mistaken policy was inspired by the belated Greater Toronto conference called by the Ontario Federation on Unemployment, whose delegates evidently did not have their collective finger on the pulse of the workers, and which advocated a policy of "go back to work under protest" until April 19th (because some townships would not have received their cuts until that date). When the workers showed that they were going to take the lead in a general relief strike in the Greater Toronto area they were strongly urged against such action with prophecies that the strike would be immediately broken by police and the cutting off of all relief.

Rank and File Force Strike

Despite these cold douches from the prophets of gloom, the majority refused to go back on the jobs, and, instead forced the Union to call a mass meeting to take a strike vote. The Socialist Workers League issued a timely leaflet supporting the stand of the rank and file and urging strike action for a restoration of the cut and for a 15 per cent. increase, for non-contributory unemployment insurance, transference of the war budget to the relief of the unemployed, and a federal works program at trade union wages.

At the mass meeting, held April 5th, some of the Union leaders again opposed the strike, but the position of the SWL carried and their spokesmen were elected from the Union rank and file to leadership in the strike committee.

Since that time the Scarboro strikers have stood firm and have extended the strike to include the 600 employables in all corners of the Township. Regular mass meetings have been held, leaflets issued, a finance committee organized, and support enlisted from sympathetic labor and liberal bodies.

Temporary confusion of the strike issues was caused later by certain outside delegates who attempted to persuade the men that Hepburn's action had automatically ended work for relief, and that the strike was simply against work. However, the strike committee with the full backing of the strikers in mass meeting, made it clear that they were opposed not to work, but to work at starvation rates, and raised three strike slogans jointly with York and Lakeshore:

Restoration of all relief cuts.
Retention of single unemployed on relief until jobs at wages available.
Work for all at trade union wages on public works projects.

Fight on Three Fronts

With these slogans the strike takes on great significance. York and Scarboro are fighting not simply a negative battle for a return of a criminally inadequate relief doled them before the cut. They are giving back three blows for one received. To the municipality which administers relief they say — restore our 10 per cent. or force Hepburn to do it. To Hepburn they are saying in addition—the struggle of the single unemployed to remain on relief this summer is also our fight. To King and the Federal government they are saying — you have the power to end unemployment by utilizing funds already appropriated in parliament for a national scheme of useful public works. Get busy; we do not promise to return to work on "relief" terms—even if the picayune ten per cent. is restored.

Reeve Fails to Break Strike

Scarboro's Reeve Clutterbuck, and his Council, early took the lead in attempts to break the strike. "We must consider this from the angle of the taxpayers as well as that of the unemployed," he announced in Council meeting. With the former gentry in mind to the exclusion of the latter he has uttered numerous threats and abuses. Typical was his threat to arrest strikers for the mere act of collecting their work cards (a slip of paper telling where and when to report for work) as a strike ballot. The police haled strike leader Elliott to the Relief Office and tried to scare him out of collecting the vouchers. The intimidation was ineffectual; the strikers called Clutterbuck's bluff, and went on collecting without further interference.

"Progressive" Councillors Dodge

Councillor Dr. U. Jones appealed to the men to go back to work and have a nice "peaceful conference with Hepburn at Queen's Park" but when the strikers asked Council to accompany them on their march to the Park there was no sale. Clutterbuck said they could not possibly do it as the "strike was illegal". Most embarrassed of all must have been Councillor James Wilson, himself secretary of the Relief Union, who had last December exhorted workers to elect Clutterbuck "the progressive" to defeat Wheeler "the dictator" and who had till now been boosting Jones for his "progressive tendencies". The workers of Scarboro are learning that Clutterbucks who will "go one progressive step with you" are not good enough — they will slip backward six steps when faced with a real workers' issue.

Bosses Pay Nothing

Naturally the small homeowners whom Clutterbuck misrepresents are resentful of the relief burden on them. The municipality, like York, has a disproportionate relief roll because the Toronto factory bosses, who have thrown many of the men out of work, live in snob areas, like Forest Hill Village, which pay out nothing for relief.

The Clutterbucks, however, have nothing to say against the real exploiters and despoilers but berate and threaten the 4,500 half starved relief victims who are refusing any longer to be made the goats of Canada's buck-passing relief "system".

The strikers know that the municipalities have hundreds of dollars to spend on bunting for the King's visit. They know they can fork out for the unemployed. The alternative offered Council by the relief workers is—to strike with them against the provincial government which instituted the cut. And if the Hepburn government doesn't like that, the strikers demand that he restore the cut or force his Federal leader King, to institute a federal public works scheme at union rates.

Municipal Services Crippled

In the meantime the Scarboro Council is making its taxpayers cut off their noses to spite their faces. Municipal Engineer Baird has admitted that the garbage collection service has been crippled by the strike. Fire, police, sewage and road departments have also been severely handicapped. This means that, despite the fact that the civic employees have been worked to death since April 1st, several extra full-time men at the standard wage rate had to be hired to do the work the unemployed had done.

Moreover, the 10 per cent food cut means just that much less buying power for the unemployed citizens of the Township, a loss which totals nearly $1,600.00 a month to local store keepers. That means less business—which in turn means more unemployment.

In Scarboro as everywhere, capitalism helplessly chases its tail, and workers must STRIKE or STARVE.

King Prepares....

(continued from page 2)

Canada at Kingston last summer that she was Uncle Sam's military protectorate.

It is Roosevelt and his Democratic Party so beloved of the Stalinists, who are preparing this continent for murderous participation in the ganster-wars of Europe. It is Roosevelt and American big business which calls the tune for King and the little big-shots of Canadian capitalism. When the U.S.A. enters a war, King will see that Canada is in it too.

Ontario Jingoists

Just how peace-loving the Conservative and Liberal parties are in this country was immediately demonstrated by the jingoist counter-shouts of their provincial mouth pieces. The Ontario Liberal-party machine of Hepburn joined with the Conservatives under Col. Drew to steamroller an unanimous resolution for conscription of wealth and manpower in Canada the moment Britain becomes involved in war.

Then The Globe and Mail, powerful organ of the mining interests, promptly editorialized against King insinuating that "sectional differences" could be 'submerged in a great moral cause transcending national boundaries" — such as support of the Empire. McCullagh, flag-flapping CharlieMcCarthy of millionaire Wright boldly declared that if Hitler "goes on, Britain and France will fight, and so will Canada, with or without Ottawa's authority".

This, the true voice of the Canadian ruling-class, spoke also in Lapointe, King's own Minister of Justice Lapointe has always held his position solely because of his usefulness in tying French-Canada to his real master, the Anglo-Saxon bankers of St. James Street, Montreal. He was forced therefore to come out and expose the hollowness of his own premier's demagoguery by declaring that if Canada attempted neutrality the imperialist forces in Canada would themselves provoke civil war. "Canada has a contract with Britain, that the British navy can use the drydocks which were once British property, at Halifax and Esquimalt. Would Canadians fight against British sailors and intern British ships?" The answer, according to patriot Lapointe, was no. Though attacked by his fellow French-Canadians in the house, and by his demagogic Mayor Houde of Montreal who gamble on the separatist vote, Lapointe was of course roundly cheered by the Anglo-Saxon Conservative and Liberal MP's, went unrebuked by the "neutral" head of the cabinet in which he sits — Mr. King.

Actions speak even louder. The Hepburn Liberals of Ontario have started a campaign to track down all utterers of "sedition" in the province. A Commission of Inquiry is to nose out all "anti-British" and Communist activities. Through Canada, Canadian branches of the jingoist United Empire League are being hurriedly set up, "to offset seditious propaganda and make Canadians Empire conscious". The list of patrons of the League is headed by Prime Minister McKenzie King. Another great Liberal, Col. Foster, is busy on a National Veterans Survey to organize all returned men for "the disposal of this country in a period of national emergency."

In the meantime, King's own 63 million dollar war budget continues to divert money from the suffering unemployed into bombs, bombers, tanks, fortifications and poison gas. To this must be added the millions of American dollars and British pounds pouring in for the development of still more war-factories.

Already King has announced a new Official Secrets Act to keep spies (and perchance, agitators) from the army, forts and the factories. Modelled by the notorious British O.S.A. used in the last war, it provides more vicious penalties than have ever been proposed in Canada or Britain. Under the new act, anyone who can even "obtain any information which might be indirectly useful to an enemy" and who "from his known character or conduct" may be thought to have "a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state" — is likely to life imprisonment. A fine blanket act to frame every war-resister and every militant labor leader in the country!

Under a smoke-screen of anti conscription oratory, both King's Liberals and Manion's Conservatives are turning "neutral" Canada into an armed camp waiting only for the signals of Chamberlain and Roosevelt. Only by taking the power from those lackeys of imperialism, and enforcing their solidarity with the world's workers, can the workers and farmers of Canada avoid the holocaust.

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How To Stop Hitler

Europe once again raises in the minds of every worker the questions: How can we stop Hitler and Mussolini? How can we prevent their monstrous juggernaut from enslaving the world?

These questions must be answered with absolute clarity. We MUST stop them, and we WILL but we must know exactly how to do it.

All proposals for stopping Hitler and Mussolini sift down, on analysis, to two. Realistically considered, our choice is between these two, and between them only.

The first is the proposal of the patriots and social patriots, of King and Manion, of the Chamberlain government, the C.P. of C. and the C.C.F.

Openly expressed by both Chamberlain and Roosevelt this first proposal is, in brief, an effort to reconsolidate the anti-German alliance of the World War, and to have the allied powers, headed by England, France and the United States, go to war against Germany and Italy.

The masses of the workers and farmers are asked to support these powers in war. That position Mr Woodsworth accepts. His only worry today is that if man power is conscripted, wealth should also be "conscripted".

Tim Buck not only accepts this but openly propagates this first proposal. In the Daily Clarion for March 21 Buck is reported as saying, "World war is still not inevitable, if the peoples of the democracies will act now to stop Hitler, saying, one inch more, and WE WILL TAKE UNITED MILITARY MEASURES AGAINST YOU". There could be no more outspoken advocacy of imperialist war.

What will happen if this proposal is accepted by the masses and acted upon?

Slaughter of millions of workers, that goes without saying. But more; Daladier has already been given dictatorial powers; Britain has admitted she intends to set up 12 dictators over 12 districts in Gt. Britain; Canada is already perfecting her "anti-sabotage" machinery and the Winnipeg Free Press, which usually says today what King does tomorrow, is already talking of Canada creating the form of government she will require to put over conscription when needed. Strikes will be illegalized; rights of free speech, free press and assembly done away with, all militants in the labor movement will be hounded, jailed or shot, working class political parties will be outlawed or, along with the unions, reduced to obedient puppets of the dictatorial state machine.

And what will be the outcome? Possibly Hitler and Mussolini will lose out, will be defeated.

But HITLERISM, the barbaric and inhuman fascist system of Hitler and Mussolini, will only be a thousand times reinforced, not merely in Germany, but throughout the world, not excepting Canada.

The fascist yoke around our necks in England, Canada, the U.S.A., and France may not wear a label "Made in Germany", but it will bear down no less heavily as a "home product".

The rulers of England, Canada, U.S.A., and France do not like Hitler, because he threatens their possessions and markets. But they have no objection, in spite of their present demagogy, to Hitlerism. On the contrary, they know that the totalitarian organization of their own nations is now the only method they have to preserve their own powers and privileges and to conduct a war "safely".

The first proposal for stopping Hitler adds up to this; for the sake of defending the possessions of the finance-capitalists of Toronto, Paris, London and New York, to **guarantee the victory of fascism throughout the world.**

The second proposal for stopping Hitler and Mussolini is that of the revolutionary socialists, the Fourth International.

This proposal declares: Workers of EVERY imperialist state, of England and France and Canada and the United States no less than Germany and Italy, **the main enemy is in your own country!** It is the bosses of YOUR OWN country who throw you out of work, send their police against your strikes, and who plan in their war and forever after to impose dictatorship on you to drive you to the slaughter.

Your first job therefore, is to get rid of these bosses and their governments in YOUR OWN country, to take over the factories and mines and resources of your country for yourselves and administer them through your own government — a workers' and not a bosses' government.

Inspired and learning from your struggle, the workers of Germany will once again take hope and courage. They will turn their anger and weapons, not against their fellow-workers of France, Canada, U.S.A. and Britain, but against THEIR OWN enemy, against their own government, against Hitler. Hitler will be swept aside; and this time not merely Hitler but Hitlerism, fascism; and fascism not merely in Germany but throughout the world.

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The War Clarion

In the past few months it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish the war fevered editorials of the Daily Clarion from recruiting posters for the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. The speeches of Communist Party leaders — Tim Buck, Sam Carr, Leslie Morris, have far outstripped those of ruling class spokesmen such as McKenzie King or Lapointe in whipping up the imperialist patriotic spirit necessary for Canadian participation in the impending war..

The Clarion, indeed, while agreeing wholeheartedly with King, Lapointe and Chamberlain in laying blame for the crisis on the fascist "aggressors", chides them for failing to go further. The editors draw conclusions for the executives of the capitalist class, showing them how they might better serve the interests of the British Empire and of Canadian "national security"! They are impatient with King's failure to propose practical measures (Clarion editorial April 1 '39) They demand that King announce unequivocally that Canada will "go along with the democracies of the world in joint action to halt Hitler".

Leslie Morris, in a speech April 2 '39 as reported in the Daily Clarion the next day, declared himself opposed to the "jingoes who wish to put Canada unconditionally at the disposal of British policy" i.e. Chamberlain's appeasement policy. This same Leslie Morris reveals himself in the same speech, as a jingo who wishes to put Canadian resources unconditionally at the disposal of the "peace" forces of American and European nations, if only an end is put to the appeasement policy of yielding to Hitler.

April 4 '39 the Clarion again editorializes on the theme that "the only hope for the peoples of the British Commonwealth and for world peace lies in the abandonment of appeasement, and gathering together of the democracies to stop Hitler". Ten days later, it finds itself in complete agreement with that great war maker, co-framer of the iniquitous Versailles Treaty, and organizer of the British intervention against the Russian Revolution — David Lloyd George! Both are of opinion that "Britain's national security, and the cause of world peace and democracy hinge on the unity of Britain, France the Soviet Union and the United States".

Tim Buck, in a radio speech on April 18, caps the climax. "Most of us", he says, "agree with Roosevelt.... that democracy can stop Hitler only if prepared to defeat him if necessary... The propaganda for Canadian neutrality to-day helps Hitler.... Peace can be saved if the democratic states are prepared to confront the aggressors with superior force. But should the aggressors plunge the world into war in spite of all peace efforts, we shall be prepared to participate loyally in the effort of democracy to bring such a war to a speedy and victorious conclusion"

In the last war, the labor fakers waited until the outbreak of hostilities before openly lining up in support of their respective bandit Fatherlands and recruiting workers for the war machines. To-day, before the event, the "communists" have long since shed the last tatters of allegiance to the international working class, in favour of a vile super-patriotism to whichever nations in imperialist gangland might find themselves in the same camp with the USSR.

Sam Carr in a speech reported April 17 said, "If war comes, there will be sabotage, but it will come not from the ranks of Communists and progressives, but from the Nazis and pro-Nazis". Workers who believe that they have nothing to gain from another slaughter between two gangs of robbers over colonial loot and profits, who believe our fight is at home against our own ruling class, will be denounced by the Sam Carrs as "pro-German" saboteurs.

The labor movement must be rid of this poisonous virus. It is the duty of every militant fighter for the workers, to combat its carriers in every field.

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The Manager's Corner

Socialist Action has not yet turned the corner. This second issue, somewhat delayed by lack of funds, is appearing in time for May Day only by the skin of our teeth. It is, we pride ourselves, an excellent issue, and a most vital one. It gives expression to the only voice in Canada raised against the warmongers in the labour movement and for a truly international socialist policy.

To ensure regular publication, our paper must, like society in general, secure its economic base. It is absolutely essential, if another issue is to appear, that you build up our campaign fund and put Socialist Action on its feet. Every reader must become a subscriber, every subscriber must be a sustainer.

Fill out the accompanying form and send in your dollars and fifty cent pieces at once.

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TROTSKY PREDICTS NATURE OF COMING WAR

ONLY WORLD REVOLUTION CAN STOP WORLD WAR

Sybil Vincent, correspondent for the London Daily Herald, submitted a series of questions to Leon Trotsky on the development of the war crisis. Below we print comrade Trotsky's answers.

• • • • •

Is a world war inevitable? If so, will it mean the end of the capitalist system?

Yes, a world war is inevitable if a revolution does not forestall it. The inevitablity of the war flows, first, from the incurable crisis of the capitalist system secondly, from the fact that the present partition of our planet, that is to say above all, of the colonies, no longer corresponds to the economic specific weight of the imperialist states. Looking for an escape out of the mortal crisis, the parvenu states aspire, and cannot fail to aspire, to new partitioning of the world. Only children at the breast and professional "pacifists" to whom even the experience of the unfortunate League of Nations has taught nothing can suppose that more "equitable" repartition of the territorial surface can be realized around the green tables of democracy.

Leon Trotsky

Effect of Spanish Defeat

If the Spanish revolution had been victorious, it would have given a powerful impulse to the revolutionary movement in France and in other countries of Europe. In this case it would have been possible to hope confidently that the victorious socialist movement would forestall the imperialist war, making it useless and impossible. But the socialist proletariat of Spain was strangled by the coalition of Stalin-Azana-Caballero - Negrin - Garcia Oliver, even before it was definitely crushed by the bands of Franco. The defeat of the Spanish revolution postponed a revolutionary perspective for the imperialist war. Only the blind can not see that!

Of course, the more energetically and the more audaciously the advanced workers will fight in all countries against militarism and imperialism now, in spite of the unfavorable conditions, the more quickly they will be able to stop the war when it has started, the greater will be the hopes for the salvation of our civilization from destruction.

Yes, I do not doubt that the new world war will provoke with absolute inevitability the world revolution and the collapse of the capitalist system. The imperialist governments of all countries are doing all that is possible to accelerate this collapse. It is only necessary that the world proletariat be not again taken unawares by the great events.

The task that the Fouth International puts before itself, I note in passing, is precisely the revolutionary preparation of the vanguard. This is exactly why it names itself the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

German Masses Will Find a Way

Is not the world too afraid of Hitler?

The democratic governments look upon Hitler, who succeeded in "liquidating" the social question, with admiration and fear. The working class, which during one and a half centuries, periodically shook the civilized countries of Europe by its revolts, is suddenly reduced to complete silence in Italy and Germany. Messrs. the official politicians attribute this "success" to the internal, quasi-mystical properties of Fascism and National Socialism. In reality the strength of Hitler is not in himself, nor in his contemptible philosophy, but in the terrible deception of the working masses, in their confusion and in their lassitude.

During many decades the proletariat of Germany built up a trade union organization and a Social Democratic party. Abreast of the strong Social democracy appeared later a powerful Communist party. And all these organizations, which rose upon the shoulders of the proletariat, were in the critical moment a zero, and crumbled away before the offensive of Hitler. They did not find in themselves the courage to call the masses to struggle, as they themselves were completely degenerated, bourgeoisified and had lost the habit of thinking about struggle.

The masses pass through such catastrophes heavily and slowly. It is incorrect to say that the German proletariat has reconciled itself with Hitler! But it no longer believes in the old parties, in the old slogans, and at the same time it has not yet found a new way. This and only this explains the strong arm omnipotence of fascism. It will continue until the masses have dressed their wounds, have regenerated themselves and once more lifted their heads. I think we can expect that in not a long time.

A Struggle for World Domination

The fear Great Britain and France have for Hitler and Mussolini explains itself by the fact that world position of these two colony-holding countries, as has already been said, no longer corresponds with their economic specific weight. The war can bring nothing to them, but can take a great deal from them. It is natural that they attempt to postpone the moment of a new partitioning of the world and that they toss a bone, as Spain and Czechoslovakia, to Mussolini and Hitler.

The struggle is for colonial possessions, for the domination of the world. The attempt to represent this brawl of interests and appetites as a struggle between "democracy" and "fascism" can only dupe the working class. Chamberlain will give all the democracies in the world (there are not many left) for a tenth part of India.

The strength of Hitler (at the same time also his weakness) consists in the fact that, under the pressure of the helpless position of German capitalism, he is ready to resort to the more extreme means, using blackmail and bluff in passing, at the risk of leading to war. Hitler has fully realized the fear of the old colonyholders before any disturbance and has played on this fear, if not with a very great heart, at least with indubitable success.

Counsel for the Workers

Should the "democracies" and the U.S.S.R. unite to crush Hitler?

I do not feel that it is my mission to give counsel to imperialist governments, even if they call themselves democratic, nor to the Bonapartist clique of the Kremlin, even if it calls itself socialist. I can only give counsel to the workers. My counsel to them is not to believe for a single instant that the war of the two imperialist camps can bring anything else but oppression and reaction in both camps. It will be the war of the slave-owners who cover themselves with various masks: "democracy," "civilization," on the one hand, "race," "honor," on the other. Only the overthrow of all slave-owners can once for all put an end to war and open an epoch of true civilization.

Does Hitler represent a great danger for the democracies?

The "democracies" themselves represent a much greater danger for themselves. The regime of bourgeois democracy appeared on the basis of liberal capitalism, that is to say free competition. That epoch is now far in the past. The present monopoly capitalism which has decomposed and degraded the petty and middle bourgeoisie, has thus undermined the ground under bourgeois democracy. Fascism is the product of this development. It does not come at all "from without." In Italy and Germany fascism conquered without foreign intervention. Bourgeois democracy is dead not only in Europe but also in America.

Capitalism Cannot Be Saved

If it is not liquidated in time by the socialist revolution, fascism will inevitably conquer in France, England and the United States, with the aid of Mussolini and Hitler, or without this aid. But fascism is only a respite. Capitalism is condemned. Nothing will save it from collapse. The more resolute and audacious will be the policy of the proletariat, the less the socialist revolution will provoke sacrifice, the sooner mankind will enter upon a new road.

My opinion about the civil war in Spain? I have expressed myself on this subject in the press many times.

The Spanish revolution was socialist in its essence: the workers attempted several times to overthrow the bourgeoisie, to seize the factories; the peasants wanted to take the land. The "people's front," led by the Stalinists, strangled the socialist revolution in the name of an outlived bourgeois democracy. Hence the disappointment, the hopelessness, the discouragement of the worker and peasant masses, the demoralization of the Republican army and, as a result, the military collapse.

"Democracies" Aided Franco

To invoke the treacherous policy of England and France explains nothing. Of course the "democratic" imperialists were with the Spanish reaction with all their hearts and helped Franco as much as possible. It was so and will always be so. The British were naturally on the side of the Spanish bourgeoisie, which passed entirely to the side of Franco. Only, in the beginning Chamberlain did not believe in the victory of Franco and feared to compromise himself by a premature revelation of his sympathies. France, as ever, executed the will of the French bourgeoisie. The Soviet government played the role of hangman toward the revolutionary Spanish workers, in order to demonstrate its trustworthiness and loyalty to London and Paris.

The fundamental cause of the defeat of a powerful and heroic revolution is the treacherous anti-socialist policy of the so-called "people's front." If the peasants had seized the land and the workers the factories, Franco never would have been able to wrest this victory from their hands!

Can the regime of Franco maintain itself?

Of course not for a thousand years, as the boasting National Socialism of Germany promises. But Franco will maintain himself for a certain time thanks to the same conditions as Hitler. After great efforts and sacrifices, after terrible defeats, in spite of these sacrifices, the Spanish working masses must be disappointed to the bottom of their hearts in the old leading parties: socialists, anarchists, "communists," who by their common forces, under the banner of the "people's front", strangled the socialist revolution. The Spanish workers will now pass inevitably through a period of discouragement, before they begin slowly and stubbornly to look for a new road. The period during which the masses

(Continued on page 8)

MAY DAY 1939

DAY OF STRUGGLE--AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR--FOR SOCIALISM

May Day Belongs to The Workers!

Since 1887 May Day has been the occasion on which all workers' organizations have marched in a united front demonstration of class solidarity against capitalism. It has been a day of protest against all that capitalism stands for — against poverty and unemployment, sweat-shop conditions, political oppression, the enslavement of colonial peoples, imperialist war. It has been the day when the workers pledged themselves anew to fight for a better world.

This is as May Day was. But today the Communist Party and the reformist parties are making a mockery of May Day. In every city and country where Stalinism and reformism corrupt the workers' struggles, the Day has either been abandoned (as in France) or turned into A DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF CAPITALISM AND WAR — AS IN TORONTO TO-DAY.

All those who march in Toronto are compelled to subscribe to the hypocritical slogan: Stop Hitler and Save Peace! Hitler is to be stopped, according to the manifesto of this May Day Conference, by "national democratic unity" and the "united resistance of all peoples"

Workers, these are the slogans of Imperialist War!

Workers in Toronto and everywhere want to stop not only Hitler — BUT HITLERISM. They are against fascism in every country ENCLUDING THEIR OWN.

In the last war for "peace and democracy" ten million workers killed each other with what result? The way was paved for fascism in Italy and Germany. Democratic liberties were suspended in Canada and in all warring countries. British and French imperialism was strengthened The workers gained nothing. THE STALINITE MAY DAY CONFERENCE IS ASKING YOU TO FIGHT IN THE SAME KIND OF WAR! — in support of Chamberlain and Daladier, of British and French imperialisms in their struggles to protect their profits against their rivals.

The "Stop Hitler" war slogan means supporting our own government in war preparations and therefore means scrapping the struggle for colonial freedom and the fight against unemployment, low wages, and all the other "blessings" of capitalist democracy.

The fight for democracy begins at home. If war comes, the workers in every capitalist country will gain only by turning the fight against their real enemy, the capitalist class. Only the road taken by the Russian workers and peasants of 1917 will stop fascism and bring peace.

For A Class Struggle May Day!
Organize the Unorganized! An End To the Sweat Shops!
Demand Federal Public Works Program For All Unemployed— At Union Rates
Demand Transference of the $63 Million War Budget to Unemployed!
Demand Restoration of Relief Cuts!
For Workers' Solidarity Against Capitalism, Democratic or Fascist!
Build Workers' Defense Guards Against Arcand's Thugs!
Down with the Padlock Law!
For Workers' Governments — To Stop Hitlerism and Bring Peace!
Down with the War Mongers — Down with Imperialist War!
Fascism Never! Socialism Forever!!

EVERYBODY OUT

to

Class Struggle May Day Meeting,

LABOR LYCEUM, MONDAY 8.15 P.M.

Speakers include W. BUTTERWORTH (relief strike leader) and W. KREHM

ON FRIDAY, May 5, Arcand and his thugs are brazenly meeting in Massey Hall. WORKERS! Here is the real enemy, YOUR ENEMY IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY.

Demonstrate your opposition to bloody fascism!

Everybody out to **counter-meeting,** corner Yonge and Albert, Friday May 5, 7.30 p.m

This manifesto issued jointly by League for Revolutionary Workers' Party and Socialist Workers League (Canadian section of 4th International)

Strike Spreads Over Toronto

Bosses Fail to Starve Out Reliefees — Reformists Imperil Struggle

Responding to the inspiring lead of York and Scarboro hundreds of relief-workers in neighboring municipalities have struck against the vicious relief cuts. Mimico, Alderwood, East York, New Toronto, Humber Bay, Long Branch, Etobicoke, swelled the ranks of militant marchers who converged in a mass demonstration at Queens Park on April 24.

In New Toronto, the strike has been 100% solid since April 12, despite the local Council's stand of "no work, no relief". The number of men affected is 190.

In Alderwood, all but two men had downed tools at last report, and the Council had been forced to continue relief.

Long Branch, even before being cut, voted 100% for strike after hearing plans for solidarity from Butterworth of York, and from Scarboro strike leaders and despite police intimidation at meeting halls.

In Mimico 150 men struck on April 17th, they picketed on the job, and at the homes of the police chief and Mayor Waites. The latter had them chased away, but they came back, and stayed, with placards. The Mayor's busy attempts to break the strike have so far only been partly successful. The Council voted to make up the cut, but have been told by Hepburn that they have no authority to do so. The Mayor is cutting all strikers "permanently" off local relief. The Lakeshore Liberal Association and the Citizens' Municipal Club are supporting the strikers, on paper at least. They have pointed out in a proper bourgeois spirit that even without the cut the cost of feeding an unemployed is only six cents per meal; cut him off relief and force him to steal — and the government must pay ten cents a meal to feed him in jail.

In Humber Bay where at first there was a majority strike unemployed militancy has been headed off by leaders who have sought support not from the labor movement but from the business men and the churches. The same danger threatens in Etobicoke, where there has been a strike since April 17th, and where reliefees now get an average of 11 cents a day. This did not prevent Minister of Welfare Cross ($5000 a year?) from denying that the unemployed were in any way undernourished.

With bold organization and general working class support a Toronto wide relief strike is still possible.

TROTSKY— (continued from p. 7) lic prostrate will coincide precisely with the time of Franco's domination.

The Menace of Japan

You ask how serious a menace Japan is to the U.S.S.R., England and the United States. Japan is not capable of a war on a great scale, partly for economic reasons, but above all for social reasons. Not having emancipated itself up to now from the heritage of feudalism, Japan represents the reservoir of a gigantic revolutionary explosion. In many respects it calls to mind the Tsarist empire on the eve of 1905.

Japan's leading circles attempt to escape from the internal contradictions by the seizure and pillage of China. But the internal contradictions make external success on a great scale unfeasible. To seize strategical positions in China is one thing; to subdue China is another. Japan would never dare to challenge the Soviet Union, if there were not a glaring antagonism, evident to everyone, between the leading clique of the Kremlin and the Soviet people. The regime of Stalin, which is weakening the U.S.S.R., can make a Soviet-Japanese war possible.

What would be the result of this war?

I cannot believe for a single instant in the victory of Japan. I think that the most indubitable results of the war would be the collapse of the medieval regime of the Mikado and the Bonapartist regime of Stalin.

Class-Struggle May Day Meeting, Mon, May 1, - 7.15 p.m. LABOR LYCEUM

SOCIALIST ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

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VETERANS' LEADER JOINS S.W.L.

Tom Montague Breaks With Communist Party

Nat. Sec'y, Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League, and Chairman, York Unemployed Union Stands with Fourth International

I, Tom Montague, herewith declare my total break with and repudiation of the Communist Party of Canada and the Communist International. At the same time I announce my allegiance to the successor of the Communist Party as the revolutionary working class party of Canada, the Socialist Worker's League, and to the Fourth International as the international organization of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism. It is good to breathe the air of a Revolutionary working class party again.

For the last five years I have found my path separating from that of the Communist Party. Loyally, I have fought my differences out in the party and have refused to take issue with it in public until finally I have been convinced that it is no longer a party worthy of the allegiance of any honest militant. The party itself has accomplished that.

Veterans' League Smashed

My serious differences with the Communist Party began over its deliberate smashing of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, an organization of which I am still the National Secretary since the party has never dared call a final conference to liquidate that militant body of workers. The steps that led to the smashing of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League could fill a book, and are a revelation of the callous and cynical way in which the Communist Party leadership is prepared to treat its best elements. Briefly, the League was smashed to make way for the Popular Front, and I, as the National Secretary, was scheduled for "liquidation" to make sure it would not be revived. I will deal with this subject in a later article.

In the winter of 1935 I suddenly found myself "suspended for inactivity" in a unit that never met and at a time when I had been evicted from my home and was searching for work to pay the rent for my new dwelling. My suspension was for three months, but six weeks later I suddenly learned from the "Worker" that I was "expelled for drunkenness and inactivity". The news was as much a surprise to other members of the local party rank and file as it was to me. I later learned that it was partly the result of the decision to get rid of a troublesome "class-struggle fanatic" in the veterans' movement, and partly the personal move of a local party bureaucrat who feared that I might become a rival in the municipal elections.

No Isolated Case

My expulsion occurred just at the period of the Moscow Trials, and this horrible butchering of Old Bolsheviks was an event that caused me to realise that my own experience was no isolated incident. In earnest I began to study Marx and Lenin, and even Trotsky. I found their teachings far removed from present-day Communist Party practice.

I determined to expose to my own satisfaction just how far the party had degenerated. Although at the time of my expulsion, York Township was plastered with leaflets denouncing me as a drunkard, I was invited by the party to speak on their platform in support of their candidate at the 1937 Provincial elections. This I did, as it was still to my eyes the only working class party in Canada. But in 1938 I could not stomach the melange of reformism that the party adopted as the program for its "progressive labour" candidate in the provincial elections, and I spoke against him. In the last township elections, however, I was again invited to support their slate, and upon a personal pledge from Humpheys that he would put up a fight if elected, I accepted the post of chief election agent in Ward 2 York Township. This, for a lazy drunkard, mind you. Personally I maintained an attitude of critical

(continued on page 8)

C.P.-HERRIDGE DEAL PLANNED FOR WEST

By Carl Hichin

Winnipeg, Man:— Headed by Herridge and boosted by Buck, Canada's version of the "Popular Front" is being built in the West. A new Stalinized Tory dress is being prepared for Canadian capitalism.

Recent threats of 60 and 70 cent wheat climaxing years of hardship had put the prairie farmers in inflammatory mood. At least temporarily, they were more prepared for militant struggle than the more Stalinized urban workers. Large sections were breaking completely away from the old line parties and from all shades of reformism. Mass demonstrations were being planned in towns along the Royal route.

Farmers Lack Fighting Leadership

But a centralized militant leadership was missing and is still lacking. And now, Herridge's promises of a "lawful revolution," a "parliament free from the control of big finance," an "overthrow of the two old parties", and "production for use and not for profit" are having their effect. They may succeed in heading city and country toilers in the West into a Tory-controlled coalition.

However, the very nature of the promises made, indicates a radical discontent, and certainly a Tory like Hon. W.D. Herridge would have been distrusted when he made them, had he not been given a coat of red "Stalimine" by Tim Buck and numerous western mayors. To save the West, Stalinism must be ruthlessly exposed, and that quickly.

• • • • •

The story of this new coalition is not only interesting, it is important if Canadian toilers are to be saved from a damnably dangerous dupery.

C.P. Backs King

In January this year, the C.P. position was fully revealed in an exchange of letters with the Saskatchewan C.C.F. Replying to an invitation extended by G.H Williams, C.C.C. leader in the Sask. legislature, to join a united front behind Woodsworth rather than King, the C.P. declared that it could see "no point in calling for a united front behind the leader of the minority in the opposition as a reply" to the attack being made on Mr King,—because King was regarded as too favourable towards unemployment insurance, too liberal with rural re-

(continued on page 3)

Relief Strikers Continue Struggle On New Front

UNEMPLOYED UNION MAKES ORDERLY RETREAT

More than 2000 unemployed workers of York and Scarboro townships are still in fighting mood, though forced back to work at slave labour on May 4th, after thirty-four days of splendidly militant struggle against Hepburn's vicious 10 percent cut in dole rates. Only when cut off relief altogether and faced with starvation did the strikers vote to make an orderly retreat and go back to work as an organized body for their miserable doles. Now confident in their leadership, in which prominent members of the Socialist Workers League are active, they are grimly determined to strengthen their organization, redress their ranks, and press on to renew struggle.

Strike Not Licked

Since the official ending of the strike, membership has considerably increased in the York Unemployed Union,—proof that the unemployed have by no means said their last word. Certain slight concessions have indeed been won by the strike. York Municipal Council has recog-

(continued on page 2)

THE PROBLEM OF THE UKRAINE

By Leon Trotsky

The Ukrainian question, which many governments and many "socialists" and even "communists' have tried to forget or to relegate to the deep strongbox of history has once again been placed on the order of the day and this time with redoubled force. The latest aggravation of the Ukrainian question is most intimately bound up with the degeneration of the Soviet Union and of the Comintern, the successes of fascism and the approach of the next imperialist war. Crucified by four states, the Ukraine now occupies in the fate of Europe the same position that was once occupied by Poland; with this difference—that world relations are now infinitely more tense and the tempos of development accelerated. The Ukrainian question is destined in the immediate future to play an enormous role in the life of Europe. It was not for nothing that Hitler so noisily raised the question of creating a "Greater Ukraine" and

(continued on page 4)

Canadian West Suffers From Deep Farming Crisis

TERRIBLE POVERTY ON PRAIRIES; MAKES DECAY OF AGRICULTURE MOST RAPID IN NORTH AMERICA

By Soc. Action Farm Correspondent

Canadian western agrarian economy today is decaying more rapidly than any other section of North American capitalism. In the struggle for 80 cent wheat, prairie farmers are fighting not for an increased commodity price, but for an increased subsidy from the state, which they now recognize more and more as the agent of large-scale monopoly capitalism. Because the decay in the domestic wheat economy is being aggravated by the King-Chamberlain -Roosevelt war economy moves, and by the conflict between U.S. and Canadian wheat interests, the farmers are becoming increasingly militant. The political implications of the fight are extremely important.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
His war manoeuvres accentuate crisis in Canadian farm economy.

80 Cents Barely Adequate

At one period recently, 10,000 persons per day were signing petitions for the 80 cent subsidized price, which Prof Hope of the University of Saskatchewan, after careful study has declared necessary "just to carry on."

Only twice in the past 49 years has the year-average price of wheat, Fort William, No. 1 Northern, fallen below 60 cents. King would like to get out of paying any subsidy at all, and there is a move on foot to reduce wheat acreage by five million acres, as an attempt to cope with the agricultural crisis.

Terrible Western Poverty

Today, a very large number of Canadian farmers are owners of their land only in name. The real owners are the trust, banking and insurance companies, who have found it cheaper to let the farmer stay on the place and pay interest, rather than oust him and hire wage labour. Hence the new "benevolent" Mortgage Bank Act by which the government reimburses the finance companies for cutting the interest rate, so that they might receive some return from the impoverished debtor-farmer.

The Saskatchewan goverment has stated that "every year since 1931, it would have taken two-thirds of the wheat crop to pay debt charges, and taxes would have eaten up the remainder." That left nothing for the farmer to live on. Fifteen months ago, one person in every three was on some form of state aid in Saskatchewan, where agriculture accounts for 80% of all products. In 1925, the cash income to Sask. farmers was $334 millions; by 1931, it was $66 millions — a drop of $268 millions! There has been little change since. In the past 7 years, the income of the West has fallen about $700 millions.

Conditions have been terrible; beyond description.

The depth of the crisis in farm economy may be gauged from the fact that in Manitoba alone out of a total population of 711,000, there are 78,000 young people between the ages of 14 to 14 years without jobs. Since 1913 the birth rate has fallen by half. 27,000 people left the province between 1931—36. They were mostly young men under 35. Today only 57% of the population is under 30; in 1921, the percentage was 62.

War Conditions Worsens

Under some sort of war dicker with the U.S.A., Britain has agreed to take 100,000,000 bushels of U.S. wheat, when Canada has a large carryover and limited demand. In another war move, Britain has undertaken to import enormous quantities of wheat from Roumania. These are hard blows to Canadian wheat industry. Further, more recently, it was learned that the U.S.A. by price-cutting, sold 24,000,000 bushels to Britain. This was apparently possible due to a specialized form of U.S. State subsidy. Besides hitting Canadian economy, it also hit the British worker's stomach. Canadian wheat is the better quality. But the purchase of cheap American wheat has led British millers to reduce the content of Canadian wheat in flour to 25 percent, even to 15 percent, whereas it had previously stood at 30 to 40 percent. Both British workers and Canadian farmers are taking it on the chin and in the tummy from Chamberlain's war moves, and the competition between U.S and Canadian trade.

Relief Strike

(continued from page 1)

nized the union as "bargaining agent" for the relief workers. The number of hours by which the men must work out their vouchers has been somewhat reduced. Work on garbage and ash collection is no longer required, and Council had to vote further appropriations of $12,000 for more full-time civic employees to do this work. The union now is disputing the use of relief labour on street cleaning and catch basins. Under threat of further strike action, it is demanding that only one work card per month be issued, and the hours of labour be further reduced. Another important point being negotiated is the question of the union members electing job foremen from their own ranks.

Work Under Protest

To inform the public that they are working only under protest, and to make their grievances known, the men are demonstrating on the jobs, placarding the works depots with slogans and protest signs. The union has decided to call a sit-down of one hour, twice weekly on the jobs, to show there is still plenty of fight in the unemployed. The militant spirit of the men may be caught from the threat of one bright lad who promised to bring down a hacksaw and reduce all the shovels by one-tenth, to conform with the ten percent reduction in relief!

York and Scarboro Lead

York and Scarboro workers, traditionally the spearhead in unemployed struggles had been first to meet head-on with Ontario's Hepburn government, in its April 1 onslaught on relief standards. Even before the cut, the Ontario Medical Association had declared relief 50 percent below minimum health standards. The unemployed, many so weak from lack of proper food that they can't stand up any length of time at such labor, rebelled at the idea of working at garbage and ash collection, street cleaning and weed cutting as if nothing had happened, while the Hepburn government passed a new .2c gasoline tax for "SOCIAL SERVICES". They also knew very well that the King Federal government had plenty of money, with its highest "peace-time" war budget of $63,000,000, and with its niggardly appropriations for public works, which the province was not utilizing Finally the York workers were all too keenly aware that their Municipal Council had $2,000,000 tucked away in reserves — built up out of the savings of $52,000 yearly that their relief labour had made possible by the displacement of permanent unionized civic employees!

Why coucil liked relief labour

The story told by the figures in the Township's own Works Department budget for 1937 brought home the way both employed and unemployed workers had been played for suckers by the authorities. In 1931, full-time workers in the Roadway Section of the Department of Works did street-cleaning, road labour, weed-cutting, snow removal, garbage and ash collection, for a total wages bill of $117,320. In 1936 by courtesy of the unemployed, the wages bill was $88,085, a saving of almost $30,000! The reduction in expenditures for labour on street cleaning alone in 1936, as compared with 1931, was $10,350. For weed cutting, on streets and on private lots the saving was $8,268, for garbage and ash collection, $23,770; and for general labour on roads, $18,136. Finally, just to rub it in, a cynical little footnote to the "Proposal Basis for Wages" for regular civic employees in the Roadway Section (p. 13 of 1937 Annual Budget of Expenditures, York Township Works Department) gave the show away even more glaringly. This little joker read: "If Cash Relief men are not available to substitute for regular men on two weeks summer holidays, additional appropriation required for extra labour is $3260"!

Figures Withheld

These figures were made available to T. J. Montague, strike leader, by former "Labour" deputy-reeve, Ewart J. Humphreys, only during the stike, though Humphreys had had them in his possession since January 1937, The workers might well wonder why a leading "progressive" politician had seen fit to protect the authorities in their exploitation of the unemployed, by failing to expose the facts two years before.

From the start, the strike, which began spontaneously, had a fighting, positive program aimed at restoration of all cuts, raising of all unemployed to the same relief rates, and inauguration of works projects at trade unoin rates of pay. Socialist Workers League members led in the formulation and defence of this militant policy, which was bittely opposed by certain CP. "leaders" in both York and Scarboro, who urged instead that the relief cut be accepted if it meant the abolition of relief labour.

Sabotage of Food Supplies

Weakest link in the unemployed chain, the Lake Shore district leadership of strike-fearing "communist" joined late and capitulated early — In New Toronto, without reason, while the strike was still 100 percent solid York and Scarboro held out a week longer, until hunger forced the men back to work. Prime responsibility for the failure to raise finances for food, and organize soup kitchens must rest with the Ontario Federation on Unemployment an organization dominated by the Communist Party. George Harris, its secretary promised that his organization could collect all the food supplies necessary to enable the strikers to carry on; then at the critical moment, he "advised" the unemployed unions that the OF.U. was unable to come across

Lesson Of The Strike

Though temporarily defeated, and forced to retreat, the unemployed have learned plenty from the strike. They have seen how the Federal and

(continued on page 7)

Buck-Herridge Move to Corral Farm Discontent

(continued from page 1)

lief and too willing to listen to demands for work and wages projects to abolish unemployment!

King, C.P. Discredited

Then came the proposal of the King government to cut wheat from 80 to 60 cents —approximately the lowest price in 49 years. The farmers flocked away from King and turned their backs on the C.P. They could not understand Buck's preference for King over Woodsworth. Now they wanted to step out on their own. Mass meetings were held. Militant parades and demonstrations were planned.

Stalinist stock struck record lows for the second time in six months. During the Czechoslovakian crisis Sam Carr had to be rushed out West to quell an inner revolt over the C.P.'s pro-war line. This time, Norman Freed was rushed to prairie party conventions to stop the drop in party membership. He only partly succeeded. Last year the C.P. was talking of 25,000 members by this midsummer. Now it talks of only 16,000. The May edition of the "Party Builder" admitted in an article headed, "A Note of Alarm" that "the party growth is far from satisfactory... In recent months.. the party has not grown at a rate in keeping with the needs..."

Need for Class Struggle Party

This latest crisis within the C.P. is a measure of the workers' and farmers' desire to break not only with the old line parties, but also with all parliamentary reformism — the C.P. brand included. The hour for a mass class struggle party of workers and farmers has arrived. Only hesitancy can now prevent the growth of the 4th International in Canada.

Buck Tries to Save Day

Matters rapidly went from bad to worse. The prairie C.P. committees, with King in disgrace, were paralyzed. The farmers milled around without the leadership they so badly needed in the fight for 80 cent wheat.

Buck tried to save the day for the C.P. He wired his prairie parties to get into action against the 60 cent wheat. At first, not King of course, but agricultural minister Gardiner in person was attacked. Liberal Premier Bracken was lauded to the skies. Miss C.P. still sat comfortably and amorously on the lap of Willie King.

Now the situation has changed again. Paying but slight heed to all the parliamentary passes, the farmers continued to vote for mass demonstrations before the Royal visitors. The C.C.F. in Saskatchewan began to tear up its constituency electoral agreements with the C.P. On its own it promised 90 cent wheat if returned to office. It had realized the new unpopularity of the Stalinists. It also realized that to join the C.P. in support of Kings' Liberals would now be suicide.

The C.P. retaliated with vicious attacks on the C.C.F. reminiscent of the third period "social fascism". Next to the Trotskyists, the C.C.F. became the dominion's worst "poison". (Vide recent editions of the Weekly Clarion). Panic-stricken, the C.P. politburo sped Buck out West to deal with the third inner-party crisis in seven months.

Tory-C.P. Romance Blooms

Overnight Miss C.P. jumped off King's lap and began to swish her soiled petticoats before the ogling eyes of Rt. Hon. W.D. Herridge, brother-in-law of Rt. Hon. Iron Heel Bennett, and himself a cum laude graduate of Roosevelt's old blue buzzard school.

In the press and over the air, Buck began to laud Herridge's "New Democracy movement" sometimes called the "United Reform Movement'. Buck and Herridge agreed that only one "progressive"' should contest each constituency against the old line parties in the coming federal elections. Right now Herridge is preparing to pick out those pregressive candidates.

Within a week, ugly rumours began to circulate in Winnipeg labour circles Mention was made of alleged considerations in connection with the C.P. red-washing of Herridge. Note was made that no Tory could carry the West without help from such as Buck. Those who understood past early preparedness by the C.P., saw some confirmation in the fact, that the C.P. was evidently holding back its own nominations. Are they to be subject to outside approval too?

Convention Hodge-Podge

The ground prepared by Buck, Herridge rushed West. His Vancouver speech was set up in print in advance and flashed to hundreds of small town prairie papers. In the speech, Herridge made his promises of "lawful revolution," etc. He lined up Mayor Telford of Vancouver, former C.C.F. top-light, and a CCF member of B.C. legislature. In Alberta some agreement was reached with Aberhart. Subsequently "monetary reform" promises were given increased prominence.

In Regina, the Stalinized CCF'er, Mayor Ellison, was lined up, — a rank opportunist and careerist if ever there was one! All along the line, the C.P. fell for Herridge as a great saviour. At the time of writing Herridge is pulling strings together in Ottawa.

The new political Messiah is to hold a convention during June in Regina or Saskatoon. Invited are the reeves and mayors of Saskatchewan municipalities. They are Stalinites, Social Crediters, money cranks, C.C.F'ers, Liberals, Tories and just plain farmers.

A four western provinces' convention is slated for later. About this, Tim Buck appears to know more than anyone else. According to him, prominent people from all "progressive" parties and movements are to be invited. The Clarion has stated the C.P. is for the new move. It has reported C.C.F'er Coldwell, M.P., as being favorable. And it's hard to tell sometimes where Coldwell's C.C.F'ism ends and his Stalinism starts.

C.P. Ends in Tory Camp

Chas. A. Bowman, editor of the Ottawa Citizen, represents the Liberal wing. His editorials on unemployment reveal the reactionary content of the movement. Bowman is one of the movement's brain-trusters. Interviewed here, he said the movement will have the support of the Social Crediters. Right now he despairs of C.C.F support but is apparently hopeful. The C.P. in its press is indirectly urging Premier Bracken to join up. He broke the Flin Flon strike, imposed a 2% wage

(continued on page 8)

The Worker's Angle

By Robertson

By the time these lines are out, George Windsor and Mrs. Wally Simpson's sister-in-law will be winding up their two-ring circus and rolling down to compete with the New York World's Fair. Canadian workers will have had a days holiday, a spot of excitement and color, and perhaps, if their foot-arches held out, a glimpse of two wealthy and professionally amiable figureheads of British imperialism. And now where are we?

* * * *

Director Elliott of the Toronto Men's Hostel said, back in April, that "there are more than 400,000 unemployed men below the age of 25 in Canada". Have George and Elizabeth brought any of these men jobs? The carpenters who stuck up scaffolding for the five-dollar rubberneckers are home again twiddling their thumbs. The owners of some vacant lots have made a little dough. That's all.

* * * *

Sir John Orr, food expert, who was brought to Canada "to educate Canadians on proper eating", discovered he couldn't educate very many because 75% of those with incomes under $1500 (i.e. 75% of the workers and workless) weren't getting enough money to be able to eat properly. Has the Royal Detour done anything about this? Well, the high-income families ate chicken with Their Majesties at public expense.

* * * *

There are never less than 40,000 single Canadian kids on the move at one time, looking for work that isn't there. Last winter there were 100,000. Trying to cling to freighters, 129 of them were mangled to death and 202 maimed for life. Will there be any fewer on the hoof, on crutches, or in the morgue, this year because Their Highnesses whizzed around Canada in the most luxurious and costly private train ever built in this country? Well yes —if Emperor George goes to war and if any of our single jobless are well enough to be snaffled by a recruiting officer and shipped overseas for mangling or maiming. Otherwise, no.

* * * *

Last year the federal government appropriated $80 million out of taxes "to stimulate building and employment". Last March it was admitted in the House that only 1.7% of that sum had been used, although there were still 1,125,000 on relief. Has any of the 98.3% been put to its

SUPER-SALESMEN

No cut in their relief.

legal use because the man whom the Toronto Telegram calls "King of Canada" sat on a gilt throne in Ottawa surrounded by $50,000 worth of new buntin'? Not a cent of it.

* * * * *

The captains and the kings depart, with their twelve tons of baggage intact. The tumult and the shouting die. And the same old Canada remains, under the shadows of unemployment, low wages, starvation-relief, farm-mortgages, and the blackening clouds of war. And these will stay so long as the Empire which the Windsors have been trying to re-sell to Canada, and the profit-racket on which all empires rest, is still with us. Chamberlain's big-business government sent the royal puppets here in the hope that sentiment and shouting might get Canadians, perhaps even French-Canadians, to fight and die again for the Bank of England and the clippers of colonial bonds.

* * * *

But though many pulses here have been trained to leap in response to imperial trumpets, even those pulses beat with blood nourished by just an ordinary stomach. A stomach which feeds better on food than on flags, and holds together better with bread than with bombs. Royalty has its day, but Canadians still have their stomachs. They have lives they want to rescue from poverty and the wars of the empires. To live the masses must struggle, must fight against the imperial bloodsuckers who keep the Charlie McCarthies on their thrones and against the owners of the "royal and loyal" capitalist press of Canada and against the whole capitalist system.

All the king's horses and all the king's men
Can't put Canada and the Empire together again.

The Problem Of The Ukraine

(continued from page 1)

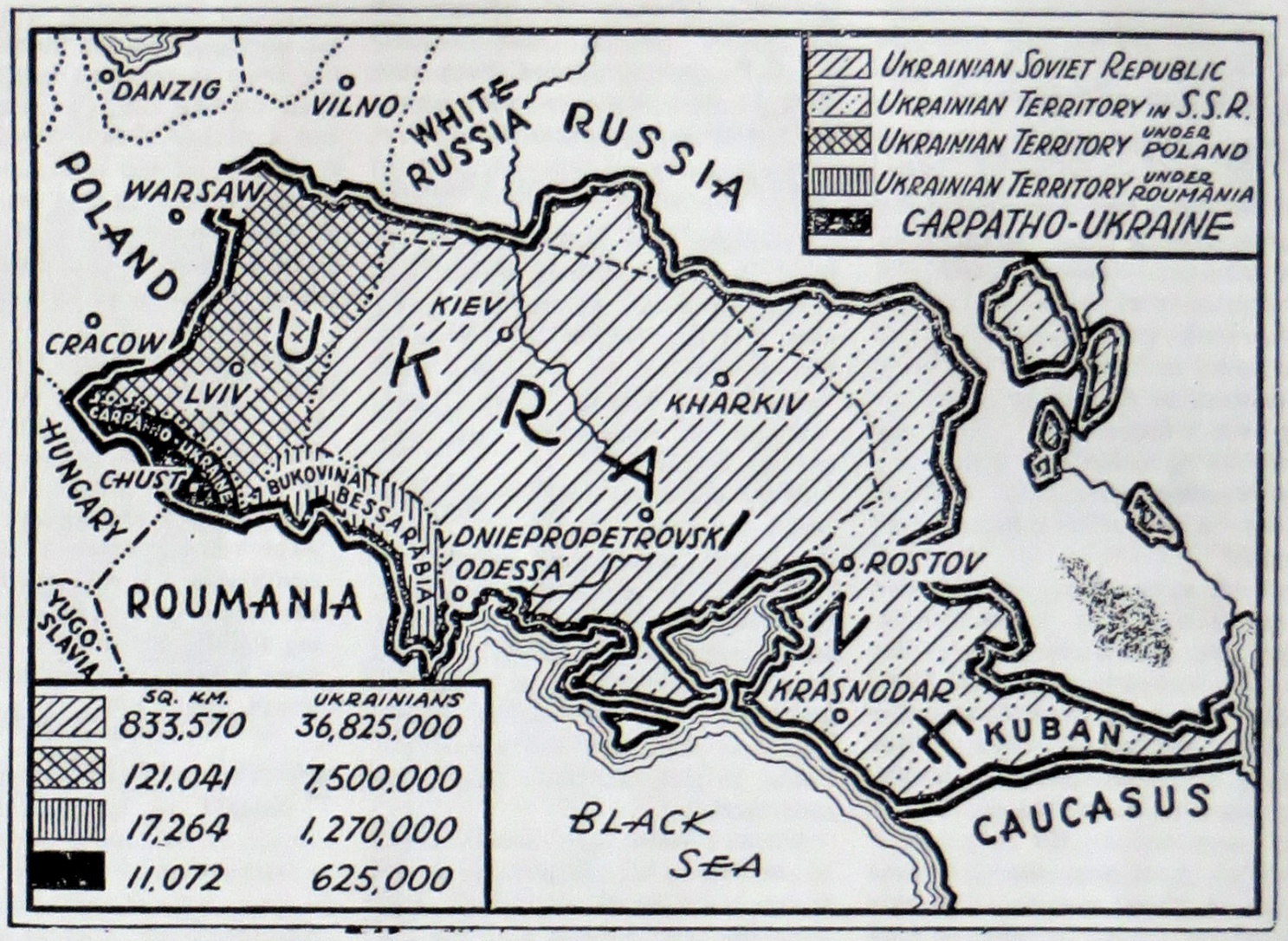
likewise it was not for nothing that he dropped this question with such stealthy haste....

* * * * *

The Bolshevik Conception Of Soviet Ukraine

In the conception of the old Bolshevik party Soviet Ukraine was destined to become a powerful axis around which the other sections of the Ukrainian people would unite. It is indisputable that in the first period of its existence Soviet Ukraine exerted a mighty attractive force, in national respects as well, and aroused to struggle the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intelligentsia of Western Ukraine enslaved by Poland. But during the years of Thermidorian reaction, the position of Soviet Ukraine and together with it the posing of the Ukrainian question as a whole changed sharply. The more profound the hopes aroused, the keener was the disillusionment. The bureaucracy strangled and plundered the people within Great Russia, too. But in the Ukraine matters were further complicated by the massacre of national hopes. Nowhere did restrictions, purges, repressions and in general all forms of bureaucratic hooliganism assume such murderous sweep as they did in the Ukraine in the struggle against the powerful, deeply rooted longings of the Ukrainian masses for greater freedom and independence. To the totalitarian bureaucracy, Soviet Ukraine became an administrative division of an economic unit and a military base of the U.S.S.R. To be sure, the Stalin bureaucracy erects statues to Shevchenko but only in order more thoroughly to crush the Ukrainian people under their weight and to force it to chant paeans in the language of Kobzar to the rapist clique in the Kremlin.

Towards the sections of the Ukraine now outside its frontiers, the Kremlin's attitude today is the same as it is towards all oppressed nationalities, all colonies, and semi-colonies, i.e, small change in its international combinations with imperialist governments. At the recent 18th Congress of the "Communist Party," Manuilsky, one of the most revolting renegades of Ukrainian communism, quite openly explained that not only the U.S.S.R. but also the Comintern (the 'gyp-joint," according to Stalin's formulation) refused to demand the emancipation of oppressed peoples whenever their oppressors are not the enemies of the ruling Moscow clique. India is nowadays being defended by Stalin, Dimitroff and Manuilsky against — Japan, but not against England. Western Ukraine they are ready to cede forever to Poland in exchange for a diplomatic agreement which appears profitable at the present time to the bureaucrats of the Kremlin. It is a far cry from the days when they went no further than episodic combinations in their politics..



A United Soviet Ukraine would be a bulwark in defense of the Soviet Union, a wedge in the heart of Capitalist Europe. Stalin and Hitler equally fear that perspective.

Stalin, Hitler and The Ukraine

Not a trace remains of the former confidence and sympathy of the Western Ukrainian masses for the Kremlin. Since the latest murderous "purge" in the Ukraine no one in the West wants to become part of the Kremlin satrapy which continues to bear the name of Soviet Ukraine. The worker and peasant masses in the Western Ukraine, in Bukovina, in the Carpatho-Ukraine are in a state of confusion: Where to turn? What to demand? This situation naturally shifts the leadership to the most reactionary Ukrainian cliques who express their "nationalism" by seeking to sell the Ukrainian people to one imperialism or another in return for a promise of fictitious independence. Upon this tragic confusion Hitler bases his policy in the Ukrainian question. At one time we said: but for Stalin (i.e, but for the fatal policy of the Comintern in Germany) there would have been no Hitler. To this can now be added: but for the rape of Soviet Ukraine by the Stalinist bureaucracy there would be no Hitlerist Ukrainian policy.

We shall not pause here to analyze the motives that impelled Hitler to discard, for the time being at least, the slogan of a Greater Ukraine. These motives must be sought in the fraudulent combinations of German imperialism on the one hand, and on the other in the fear of conjuring up an evil spirit whom it might be difficult to exorcize. Hitler gave Carpatho-Ukraine as a gift to the Hungarian butchers. This was done, if not with Moscow's open approval then in any case with confidence that approval would be forthcoming. It is as if Hitler had said to Stalin: "If I were preparing to attack Soviet Ukraine tomorrow I should have kept Carpatho-Ukraine in my own hands." In reply, Stalin at the 18th Party Congress openly came to Hitler's defense against the slanders of the "Western Democracies." Hitler intends to attack the Ukraine? Nothing of the sort! Fight with Hitler? Not the slightest reason for it. Stalin is obviously interpreting the handing over of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary as an act of peace.

For a Free, Independent Soviet Ukraine!

This means that sections of the Ukrainian people have become so much small change for the Kremlin in its international calculations. The Fourth International must clearly understand the enormous importance of the Ukrainian question in the fate not only of Southeastern and Eastern Europe but also of Europe as a whole. We are dealing with a people that has proved its viability, that is numerically equal to the population of France and occupies an exceptionally rich territory which, moreover, is of the highest strategical importance. The question of the fate of the Ukraine has been posed in its full scope. A clear and definite slogan is necessary that corresponds to the new situation. In my opinion there can be at the present time only one such slogan: **A united, free and independent workers' and peasants' Soviet Ukraine.**

This program is in irreconcilable contradiction first of all with the interests of the three imperialist powers, Poland Rumania, and Hungary. Only hopeless pacifist blockheads are capable of thinking that the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine can be achieved by peaceful diplomatic means, by referendums, by decisions of the League of Nations, etc. In no way superior to them of course are those "nationalists" who propose to solve the Ukrainian question by entering the service of one imperialism against another. Hitler gave an invaluable lesson to these adventurers by tossing (for how long?) Carpatho-Ukraine to the Hungarians who immediately slaughtered not a few trusting Ukrainians. Insofar as the issue depends upon the military strength of the imperialist states, the victory of one grouping or another can signify only a new dismemberment and a still more brutal subjugation of the Ukrainian people. The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score.

Soviet Constitution Admits Right of Self-Determination

But the independence of a United Ukraine would mean the separation of Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R., the "friends" of the Kremlin wil exclaim in chorus. What is so terrible about that? we reply. The fervid worship of state boundaries is alien

to us. We do not hold the position of a "united and indivisible" whole. After all, even the constitution of the U.S.S.R. acknowledges the right of its component federated peoples to self-determination, that is, to separation. Thus, not even the incumbent Kremlin oligarchy dares to deny this principle. To be sure it remains only on paper. The slightest attempt to raise the question of an independent Ukraine openly, would mean immediate execution on the charge of treason. But it is precisely this ruthless hounding of all free national thought that has led the toiling masses of the Ukraine, to an even greater degree than the masses of Great Russia, to look upon the rule of the Kremlin as monstrously oppressive. In the face of such an internal situation it is naturally impossible even to talk of Western Ukraine voluntarily joining the U.S.S.R as it is at present constituted. Consequently, the unification of the Ukraine presupposes freeing the so-called Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot. In this matter, too, the Bonapartist clique will reap what it has sown.

But wouldn't this mean the military weakening of the U.S.S.R.? the "friends" of the Kremlin will howl in horror. We reply that the weakening of the U.S.S.R. is caused by those ever-growing centrifugal tendencies generated by the Bonapartist dictatorship. In the event of war the hatred of the masses for the ruling clique can lead to the collapse of all the social conquests of October. The source of defeatist moods is in the Kremlin. An independent Soviet Ukraine, on the other hand, would become, if only by virtue of its own interests, a mighty southwestern bulwark of the U.S.S.R. The sooner the present Bonapartist caste is undermined, upset, crushed and swept away, the firmer the defense of the Soviet Republic will become and the more certain its socialist future.

Against Imperialism and Moscow Bonapartism

Naturally an independent workers' and peasants' Ukraine might subsequently join the Soviet Federation; but voluntarily, on conditions which it itself considers acceptable, which in turn presupposes a revolutionary regeneration of the U.S.S.R. The genuine emancipation of the Ukrainian people is inconceivable without a revolution or a series of revolutions in the west which must lead in the end to the creation of the Soviet United States of Europe. An independent Ukraine could and undoubtedly will join this federation as an equal member. The proletarian revolution in Europe, in turn, would not leave one stone standing of the revolting structure of Stalinist Bonapartism. In that case the closest union of the Soviet United States of Europe and the regenerated U.S.S.R. would be inevitable and would present infinite advantages for the European and Asiatic continents, including of course the Ukraine, too. But here we are shifting to questions of second and third order. The question of first order is the revolutionary guarantee of the unity and independence of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine in the struggle against imperialism, on the one hand, and against Moscow Bonapartism, on the other.

The Ukraine is especially rich and experienced in false paths of struggle for national emancipation. Here everything has been tried: the petty-bourgeois Rada, and Koropadski, and Petliura, and "alliance" with the Hohenzollerns and combinations with the Entente. After all these experiments, only political cadavers can continue to place hope in any one of the fractions of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie as the leader of the national struggle for emancipation. The Ukrainian proletariat alone is capable not only of solving the task — which is revolutionary in its very essence—but also of taking the initiative for its solution. The proletariat and only the proletariat can rally around itself the peasant masses and the genuinely revolutionary national intelligentsia.

At the beginning of the last imperialist war the Ukrainians, Melenevski ("Basok") and Skoropis-Yeltukhovski, attempted to place the Ukrainian liberation movement under the wing of the Hohenzollern General, Ludendorff. They covered themselves in so doing with left phrases. With one kick the revolutionary Marxists booted these people out. That is how revolutionists must continue to behave in the future. The impending war will create a favorable atmosphere for all sorts of adventurers, miracle-hunters and seekers of the golden fleece. These gentlemen, who especially love to warm their hands in the vicinity of the national question, must not be allowed within artillery range of the labor movement. Not the slightest compromise with imperialism, either fascist or democratic! Not the slightest concession to the Ukrainian nationalists, either clerical-reactionary or liberal-pacifist! No "People's Fronts"! The complete independence of the proletarian party as the vanguard of the toilers!

For an International Discussion

This appears to me the correct policy in the Ukrainian question. I speak here personally and in my own name. The question must be opened up to international discussion. The foremost place in this discussion must belong to the Ukrainian revolutonary Marxists. We shall listen with the greatest attention to their voices. But they had better make haste. There is little time left for preparation!

April 22, 1939.

LENIN ON WAR

"Our duty is to help make the revolutionary sentiments of the masses concious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into civil war", (Lenin and Zinoviev: Socialism and War, August, 1915....)

UNITED STATES NEWSLETTER

—By Blake Lear—

The situation in the United States may be summed up in a phrase: Preparation for war.

The cause of the crisis lies in the extreme tension of the international political scene and in the definitive failure of the New Deal with its program of capitalist reform. The symbol of that collapse was the sweeping victory of the republicans in last fall's elections and the current program of business appeasement.

With characteristic speed the war preparations of the bourgeoisie are proceeding on all fronts, economic, political, and social.

A tremendous military budget, the complete extent of which is even now not apparent, is being run through congress without a ripple of opposition. Daily new plans, new appropriations, new automatic rifles, new light bombers, are announced — tempting foretaste of the weapons by which the United States plans soon to contest for the spoils of the world.

Political Preparedness

Along with the military preparations have gone the necessary political preparations. This year, in a manner so clear that even college professors understand it, the United States openly threw overboard even its pretense to isolation. The clearest expression of its alliance with the so-called democracies came in Roosevelt's well known letter to Hitler, which set the seal upon previous policy. Backing up the political commitments to the democracies came concrete help, at a neat profit, of course, in the form of aircraft and other material.

To buck up vitally important foreign trade, the U.S. in the conference at Lima, Peru, attempted to weld together South America as an exclusive market for American capital. The latest manifestation of the tie-up of the United States and the "democracies" is the visit of the king and queen of England to the U.S. While it is not true that they were routed through the RKO-Keith theater chain, just about everything else was done to publicize their trip, and, incidentally, to whip up the war spirit.

War Fever Rises

Internally the country is being prepared for war. The anti-red investigating Dies committee, which last year because of its attacks on the administration, Shirley Temple, Gypsy Rose Lee, the strip-tease artist, and other well known figures, came into disrepute, has recently received a new appropriation and is proceeding on a larger and more serious investigation.

In the movie houses the public has been deluged with a series of historical pictures calculated to whip up nationalist feeling. In many cities audiences are being asked to rise and sing the "Star Spangled Banner" before each feature presentation. The most rabid patriots, especially within the ranks of the working class, are of course, the C.P.ers, who nowadays quote almost exclusively from the well-known millionaire marxist, Roosevelt.

As a result of the increasing propaganda barrage, anti-war sentiment is noticeably decreasing — a fact pointed out by the reliable Gallup poll.

Roosevelt Cuts Relief

To finance the immense program of armaments the Roosevelt regime is making huge slashes in WPA. work relief. During the election campaign the numbers on WPA stood at 3,350,300. By July it is intended that this figure will stand at 2,000,000, a drop of 40%. In other words 1,350,000 men will have been cut off in a year. With their families this would affect a total of around 5,000,000 persons. These persons will either get on direct relief or starve. In this fashion United States capitalism prepares for a war to "save the world for democracy."

How is labor reacting to the changed situation? Unfortunately, it must be recorded that the labor movement is passive. The great, mass organization days are in the past. Labor is digging in, holding on, fighting rear guard actions. The cause for ths lies in the American workman's historically conditioned political backwardness. The times call for a revolutionary program; simple trade unionism can no longer solve the problems confronting the American working class.

Labour Still Passive

The American worker by and large still supports the Democratic party During the last elections, it was not the worker who went over the ranks of the Republicans. It was the petty-bourgeois, who found that he had been deceived in the promises of the Democratic party. The worker saw nothing but reaction in the Republicans, and he neither saw nor was able to create a party other than the democratic party for himself.

As a result of the republican victories, made inevitable by the failure of the democratic party to provide a bold program which would pull the petty-bourgeois masses with it and prevent them from flowing back to the republicans, a reactionary tide has set in. This has reached its highest point in Oregon and Minnesota, where as a result of the victory of the republicans, severe anti labor legislation has been passed.

Social Crisis Continues

Should the present trend continue, and there is every indication that it will, there will be a "stronger" regime put into power in 1940. The internal social crisis continues; the business index has declined since December. The war crisis is aggravating the social contradictions at home. Business is demanding stronger measures against labor, the cutting of government relief expenditures and the easing of tax levies. The republicans are taking strength from their sectional victories; the

(continued on page 7)

SOCIALIST ACTION

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The Ukrainian Question

For some time the outside world has been aware of serious trouble within the borders of the Soviet Union. The mass terror and judicial murders indicated that this restive condition had grown sufficiently acute to warrant measures that amount to a civil war situation. While the Soviet bureaucracy directed its main offensive against the entire school of old bolsheviks, frame-up trials took place in every important minority nation "affiliated" to the Soviet Union. In most instances the victims were leading cadres of these repubics.

This program of terror deeply affected the national sections of the comintern. Within the language sections, especially of the Canadian Communist Party, there is a growing tide of resentment threatening a mass split. This opposition to the Kremlin bureaucrats, suppressing of the rights of self-determination of national grouping, has not yet been clarified. Unfortunately many right-wing tendencies are developing which seem to be travelling in the direction of nationalism and fascism. "Anything but Stalinism" is the general feeling of the disillusioned language groups.

A more encouraging aspect of this development is the steady growth of left-wing, revolutionary sentiment in opposition to rightist tendencies. An indication of this is the numerous requests which this paper has received from Ukrainian and Finnish workers to publish the viewpoint of the Fourth International on national minorities.

Elsewhere in this issue appears an article by Leon Trotsky on the Problems of the Ukraine. This is of especial importance to Canadian workers because of the large Ukrainian poulation in this country. A number of Ukranian organizations exist, ranging from the reactionary U.N.O., fascist Ukranian Nationalist Alliances, The Ukranian People's Home and the left-liberal Ukranian Enlightenment Society known as Proswita, to the U.L.F.T.A., which because of Stalinist degeneration is now faces with a possible split. A harbinger of this situation was the original split of Lobay, who disagreed sharply with the Stalinists' oppression o fthe Soviet Ukraine. A substantial following from the U.L.F.T.A. gathered around Lobay as a result of his expulsion, to form what is now the S.U.O., Alliance of Ukranian Organizations.

The stand of the Fourth International on the Ukranian question is submitted below. This is substantially in agreement with the position of the S.U.O. on Ukranian independence. We are not aware of any political differences on principled questions. Therefore, we invite their political collaboration with the Fourth International movement.

With the war crisis close at hand, there is little time to act.. The Socialist Workers' League is the only organization in Canada which opposes the coming imperialist war. The S.U.O. has the alternative of uniting with the revolutionary forces opposing imperialism in the coming war, or of finding itself in the camp of the Stalinists and Social-patriots.

For an Independent Farmer-Labour Party

The Western farmer, fed up to teeth with the old-line capitalist parties and with all brands of reformism, may soon become one of the most dynamic forces in Canadian politics. The deep crisis in farming economy on the prairies, which is decaying more rapidly than any other section in Nort America, opens up tremendous possibilities for growth of a fighting, independent party of farmers and workers. It is very timely, therefore, to reprint here, section 12: "For an Independent Farmer-Labour Party" from our draft Progam of Action, published in the first issue of Socialist Action, March 20. 1939:

The immediate action program of the Socailist Workers League is a class-struggle program not a program of parliamentary reform. But it is a program of TRANSITONAL demands designed to lead the toilers out of the blind alleys of reformism and the bogs of inactivity onto the revolutionary road. Such a program involves a political fight as part of the general struggle against capitalism; and so the organization of a fighting political party of the toilers. The Socialist Workers League is not yet that party, but it is the vanguard of those who will build it. We declare the necessity for a united class-struggle party of workers and poor farmers in this country. We link up such questions as expropriation with the question of the seizure of power. Only the general revolutionary upsurge of the proletariat can complete the expropriation of the capitalists, in Canada as elswhere. But by fighting for immediate demands in this period of growing reaction, we prepare the proletariat for its ultimate tasks. Our program of transitional demands is a program of preparation for the final struggle, and that program involves the building of a mass party of class struggle.

The perspective of a goverment by. such a party, a militant farmer-labor party, is also part of the transitional struggle, leading on to the dictatorship of the proletariat for the establishment of socialism.

For A Militant Action Program
For A Militant Party of The Canadian Toilers
For An Independent Farmer-Labor Government

* * * * *

Communist Party Disintegrates

This issue of Socialist Action features the statement of Tom Montague, who makes public his break with the Communist Party and his allegiance to the S.W.L.

Two months ago we featured the statement of Carl Hichin, another leading C.P. militant driven into our ranks by the class-collaboration policy of the Communist Party.

These actions of Montague and Hichin are consistent with their long records of working class militancy in refusing to go over into the camp of Social Imperialism with the Communist Party

And Montague and Hichin are not alone. With them have come leading rank-and-file militants who see in the S.W.L. the standard-bearers of working class struggle, the custodians of the revolutionary flag.

But hundreds, thousands of other former members of the Communist Party, disillusioned and disheartened by the betrayal, have fallen into a state of apathy, have given up the active struggle that their party now refuses to lead.

To these comrades, we appeal: The party has capitulated, but the struggle goes on. Join the ranks of the S.W.L. Join with us and other former members of the Communist Party in building a new Revolutionary Party. The time is short. Join now!

Marx Answers Tim Buck

Before long Tim Buck and the Communist Party will be calling on workers to "Support Herridge and Defeat Reaction" in the elections, as Carl Hichin warns in his news letter from Winnipeg, printed in this issue. Nearly 100 years ago Karl Marx threw this phoney argument out the window, in his Address to the Communist League, March 1850:

..."Even in constituencies where there is no prospect of our candidates being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain their independence, to steel their forces, and to bring their revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the vote of the democrats means assisting the reactionary parties. All such talk is but calculated to cheat he proletariat. The advance which the Proletarian Party will make through its independent political attitude is infinitely more important than the disadvantage of having a few more reactionaries in the national representation."

* * * * *

The Manager's Corner

It is hardly necessary to say that we have been greatly heartened by the letters of welcome and encouragement from all over the country that have greeted Socialist Action. They signalize a growing recognition among the great exploited majority of Canadians that the revolutionary road is the only real path out of the hell of misery, unemployment and capitalist war. Even more encouraging have been the subscriptions and promises of support contained in many of the letters. This is good, but it is not enough. Before it can stand on a firm foundation, before it can begin to really function as the voice of fighting socialism in Canada, Socialist Action must double, triple, quadruple its circulation. It is no family secret that, as yet, every issue a tough financial struggle — every deadline we dash across with the bailiff's hot breath down the back of our neck. We MUST have more material support — plenty and soon. Only by rushing in subscriptions and sustaining pledges can our comrades and supporters keep our paper appearing regularly and build it to its full effectiveness as a beacon pointing the way to real Socialist Action.

* * * * *

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More Light on Spain

ARAQUISTAIN CONFIRMS KRIVITSKY CHARGES

Authoritative confirmation of Walter Krivitsky's charge that Stalin sabotaged the Loyalist fight against Franco came this week from Luis Araquistain, the outstanding theoretician of the left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party, associate of Caballero and Loyalist ambassador to France until June, 1937.

Loyalist Spain was for Stalin merely a bargaining point in coming to terms with Hitler, declared Araquistain, in articles written from exile in Paris and published here by the New York Times on May 19 and 21.

"Joseph Stalin did not want us to win the war because that would have exasperated Chancellor Hitler—otherwise his help would have been more copious and efficient. Nor did he want us to lose it too soon,. because, once the Spanish conflict was liquidated, Herr Hitler would have greater freedom of action to carry out his policy of aggession in Eastern Europe and even against the Soviet Union itself. Stalin simply wanted to prolong our war sine die, to keep Premier Mussolini and Hitler busy and force the latter, in the end to come to an understanding with the U.S.S.R. In the Spanish war Stalin only saw a strategic diversion."

Stalin's Tools

To carry out this anti-Loyalist policy, Stalin needed obedient tools and he found them Araquistan points out, in the right wing of the Socialist Party, especially Juan Negrin and Alvarez del Vayo These two were chosen because of their pliancy and in spite of the fact that they were almost unknown figures:

"From my vantage point of the Paris Embassy I could notice with surprise that already at the beginning of 1937 some liberal newspapers of London, which let themselves be inspired more or less sonsciously by Communists or Communist sympathizers, began to print pictures and eulogies of Dr Juan Negrin, then Minister of the Treasury, without any visible reason. The hidden motive was that in Moscow he had been selected as successor to Spanish Premier Francisco Largo Caballero.

Making Nobody Somebody

"Dr Negrin held the chair of physiology at the Madrid School of Medicine and belonged to the Socialist Party. But as he was neither politically nor scientifically known outside of Spain —and in Spain only within a very limited university circle—they had to prepare international opinion and manufacture quickly a statesman's reputation for him The Communists are masters in the art of artifically creating representative men."

Negrin became premier when the Stalinists ousted Caballero on May 15, 1937, after having—as Krivitsky, then head of the Soviet Military Intelligence has since revealed—deliberately provoked bloody street warfare in Barcelona to justify the formation of a more repressive government than that of Caballero.

Stalinist Blackmail

Stalin used "Russian-help blackmail" to remove those who would not do his bidding. "So that the Soviet Union would continue sending us war material, it was necessary to eliminate the men on whom the Communists placed their veto. In fact, in the last months of Largo Caballero Government, supplies arrived scantily and in bad condition.

"The Soviet war material was never sufficient," Araquistain says, and advances as the hypothesis which "confirms the suspicions that some of us Spaniards had as early as 1937," that Stalin was merely using Spain as a bargaining point with Hitler.

Araquistain's revelations came too late to help the Loyalist struggle against Franco. But they do provide an authoritative addition to the mountain of evidence which damns Stalin and his agents as the destroyers of the Spanish revolution.

UNITED STATES NEWSLETTER

(continued from page 5)

"progressive" and "reactionary" forces within the democratic party are polarizing. Many persons, disgusted with the democratic party and seeing no other place to go, will turn to the republicans. That is why a regime more responsive to the dictates of big business may well be put in power in 1940.

And that is why, too, only the program of transitional demands advanced by the U.S. Socialist Workers' Party can lead the masses of the United States out of the land of poverty and impending war into the realm of abundance and peace.

Relief Strike

(continued from page 2)

provincial governments viciously cut already inadequate relief rates, and at the same time spend tens of thousands on bunting for the Royal Tour and millions on instruments of death. The hypocrisy and buck-passing of the Municipal Councils "elected representatives of the people", and "friends of the unemployed" have been clearly exposed in the struggle. Most important of all, the workers have learned who is fighting with them and for their interests and who is hurting this fight or trying to sidetrack it. The Communist party, with the exception of one or two individuals has consistently held back or played a sabotaging role. The C.C.F. and Liberals, hope to use the Unemployed Union for their own purposes in the coming election to divert from its aims. Only the Socialist Workers League advocates a working class struggle, an extension of the front to the whole province for the first objective, 50 percent over the Campbell report, the Ontario Medical Association's figure for 'minimum health standards"

Correspondence

WINDSOR'S PATRIOTIC MAY DAY

To the Editor — About 500 persons took part in the May Day parade here, led by a Union Jack and marching from the Windsor market to Lanspeary Park where the meeting took place.

The demonstration was dull, and the speakers, mostly members and stooges of the Communist Party did not even attempt to attack the Capitalist system. Of course, any criticism of the ruling class would probably antagonize them and spoil the chances of the Stalinists to lead the workers into another trap of a Popular Front or on to the battlefields of another imperialist war. One of the speakers, William Emery, an organizer for the United Auto Workers, and stooge of the C.P. urged the workers that "the best way to fight for Socialism today is to fight for the preservation of the existing (Capitalist) system in Canada." He concluded his speech with: "Well might our slogan for this year be, 'Oh, Canada! we stand on guard for thee'!"

Another speaker, Thomas Reycraft shouted wildly: "Stop the bloodthirsty madmen floating through Europe today, before they get this far." Mr Reycraft didn't mention a word about the main enemy at home.

Another Stalinist, Reggie Morris said, "Only by unification can the democratic and peaceloving people save the world." Haven't the Stalinists learned anything from the record of the "democratic" and "peace loving" capitalist allies of the workers in France or Spain? The answer is Yes. They have learned that the best way to stifle the revolutionary workers' struggle, is to tie the workers to an alliance with the Bourgeoisie. This is precisely what they want, because the Stalinists know very well that a successful workers revolution would not only do away with the decayed Capitalist system, but would also destroy Stalinism.

G. Mob, Windsor, Ont.

BIBLE BILL'S NEW ALLY

To the Editor.

A few short years ago in this city of the foothills Social Credit was riding high on the crest of its popularity and almost every other denizen wearing a sacred button and a smile in happy anticipation of those belated $25 dividends promised by Aberhart.

The class struggle moved into the doldrums as all militant action of the Workers, particularly the unemployed was discouraged on the grounds that with the advent of Social Credit there would be economic security for all, so why struggle?

The C.P. characteristic of that infamous 3rd Period viewed with alarm this new 'Social Fascist" grouping on the political horizon and poured upon them the full vials of their wrath. Later however when the comintern made another dizzy deviation their attitude changed and Social Credit was re-incarnated into a progressive, democratic body.

From then on they have striven to co-operate and not to embarrass Bible Bill who is vigorously berating the big bad wolf "the financier", while on the other hand the Stalinists are quite willing to battle the Tories such as the CGTA civic council in Calary whom they class as Tory reactionaries, etc. But as regards Social Credit and its innumerable shortcomings in dealing with the workers they have nothing but apologies. The average worker in this province has experience to prove that there is little if any difference. Both ride rough-shod over their rights and are unanimous at all times in unloading this crisis upon the backs of the toilers.

The CCF has continued on the even tenor of its way. Now with the U.F.A. forsaking the political field, they have expectations of becoming our next government. At this late hour with those ominous shadows of war and fascism ever deepening, such a social reformist set-up would obviously do more harm than good. Moreover, their choice of candidates to form a government would as usual be picked from the most conservative elements within the CCF such as the ex-U.F.A.'s, the Canadian Labor Party and those high-salaried officials of the AF of L. One can imagine what a mish-mash of socialism these goons would cook up in the Edmonton gas-house for Alberta's proletariat.

Militants in the CCF are trying to inject some red blood into the movement — but within the narrow confines of such a reformist party their efforts are extremely limited. Only by wheeling into action a militant Socialist Workers Party based on the hard cold facts of the class struggle can the Canadian toilers storm the citadels of capitalism and gain their freedom.

Chas. L., Calgary, Alta.

This is What We Want!

Editor, Socialist Action:—

I was more than pleased to know that you have been able to turn out a paper... I am enclosing $1 for one year's subscription and for a bundle of six of the next two issues. I think your paper is excellent and your program is a real program of action.

Please send me particulars for organizing... Wishing you every success. — J.S., Sask.

Buck-Herridge

(continued from page 3)

tax, betrayed the farmers in 1923, and has jailed scores of labor leaders. Support is expected from Stevens' Tory Reconstructionists. All in all, the Stalinists have ended their zig-zags hand in glove with the Tories.

Bowman gives the movement's platform as twofold: — a "free parliament", and "monetary reform". Herridge adds the "lawful revolution" within the bounds of capitalism! Monetary reform most likely means belly-robbing inflation. A "free parliament" means a Tory-Stalinist coalition

"Anti-Fascism" a Mockery

Right now, Herridge realizes that a "popular front" approach, under a new name, by which he promises to fight fascism is the best method of obtaining the "union sacree" of Capital and Labour so necessary to push the nation into war. He also realizes that once war is declared, democracy will end. And Tim Buck is partner to this, although 7 years ago in "An Indictment of Capitalism", he warned against it! Is there no end to the treachery?

Call for 4th International

What the chances of success are for the new move is hard to estimate. The writer fears the success may be great. The Winnipeg Free Press apparently is of the same opinion. In a recent editorial it warned King against taking to the country this year, lest he be defeated, and advised him to make further wheat, tariff and debt concessions to western farmers before 1940, when elections must be held.

It might well be that Canada's popular front, built on the misery and potential militancy of the western farmers and workers, will sweep the west. This Tory strategy must be exposed immediately. Else, the west will end up in a Tory-dominated coalition instead of on the independent class struggle road for which it searched.

There are hopeful features. On our desk at this time of writing is a request from a farmer in the heart of Saskatchewan for a 4th International organizer to visit his district. He is confident organizational work will succeed. There-in is a lesson for all Marxian revolutionists. To them falls the task of repeating to Buck and Herridge those famous words of Pygmalion's Eliza Doolittle: "Not bloody well likely!"

SOCIALIST ACTION

NEEDS:—

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HAVE YOU SENT YOURS?

Europe on the Brink

BY ALEXANDER

As we go to press, the final stages in the diplomatic game of Europe's "democratic" and fascist gangsters are being reached. While Chamberlain sends his aristocratic stooge Halifax bloodhounding after the suddenly-coy Stalin, the latter intimates to Germany that it is "now or never" for a deal with the Soviet Union. The decision still rests with Hitler whether he will absorb Poland with Russian acquiescence or at the point of Russian French and British bayonets. Much undoubtedly depends on expert German opinion of Russian military strength.

To socialists the idea still seems blasphemous that Russia should contemplate a military understanding with Germany, particularly as the Stalinist press has spared no term in characterising fascism in the past. But if there were ever any doubts left about the crux of Stalin's policy, those doubts have been finally liquidated by the dismissal of Litvinov and the somewhat startling revelations made recently in the SATURDAY EVENING POST by the former Stalin agent Krivitsky. Krivitsky's statements, as yet unchallenged in specific detail by Stalin's press, reveal point by point the Kremlin's long and unsuccessful wooing of the "fascist dogs".

Secret Negotiations

Cloaked in secrecy, it is impossible to predict as yet the outcome of the negotiations that are under way. Probably not until the very outbreak of war will it be known on which side of the fence the Soviet Union will be dragged by the unscrupulous Stalin leadership. The bewildering series of twists, turns, flip-flops, double jack-knives and spirals that the official Communist Parties of the world have been compelled to perform have at least given them good practise for this final acrobatic, which should succeed at last in breaking their backs. They will have two alternatives: either they will remain true to their latest and spiritually most-satisfying role of being the most rabid defenders of the "democratic" imperialisms at home, and so break with father Joe in Moscow, or they will pass over openly into the national fascist ranks and advocate individual understandings with Hitler, Stalin's new ally. That is the inevitable logic of a Russian-German understanding. Undoubtedly a section, in whom the flame of old-fashioned sword-rattling patriotism has been rekindled by the "popular front" and "national unity" twist of the party line, will be consumed by that fire and will continue to serve as recruiting agents for British and American imperialism. And undoubtedly another section will remain faithful to Stalinism until they are publicly disowned and repudiated by the Man of Steel. We can only hope that the few remaining militants in the Stalinist ranks, bewildered and confused by it all, will not become apathetic or allow themselves to become

On the Skids

MAXIM LITVINOV, former Russian Commissar of foreign affairs and exponent of collective security policy, ousted to make easier Stalin's dickering with Hitler.

tools of fascism, but will find their way to the ranks of the Fourth International and take up the struggle there for Socialism.

Meanwhile, what of the final diplomatic moves?

Time is Short!

It has been pointed out by our comrades abroad that the nature of the present crises are somewhat different from the crisis of last September. Then, Czechoslovakia was the main bone of contention, (if Chamberlain's embarrassed efforts to rid himself of his former ally could be called "contention"). Then, a single issue came to a rapid head, was settled. This year, there are a number of issues to be settled; Poland, the Balkans, the Mediterranean. In accord with Nazi tactics, these issues are now warmed up, now cooled, as Hitler tries, carefully, skilfully, to break the nerve of his jittery enemies. A whole series of crises, interspersed with periods of attrition, has been indicated. News from Italy and Germany advises that a new mobilisation is under way, probably reaching its peak towards the end of July, when most of the European crops are in and a military adventure is most convenient. We can therefore look for a fresh and sharp crisis in July, possibly August. Whether it will terminate in War, we cannot say.

Certainly, when one side or the other decides that the time is ripe, there will be a clash and the world will be aflame. If this new crisis passes, there will be another. That, we know. In England, the upper circles now talk of a "Preventative War", so that even the term "aggressor" has lost its meaning.

From the whole ugly mess, one lesson comes home to us with redoubled force. WE MUST PREPARE! THE TIME IS SHORT!

Now, on the brink, we repeat again with Lenin and Marx. The workers have no fatherland. Our enemy is at home. Only a socialist revolution can prevent the war and end forever the horror and barbarism that is Capitalism today.

Montague Breaks

(continued from page 1)

support, as I had little confidence left in the party.

Popular Front Melange

I have never pretended to be a theorotician, though I realise the absolute necessity of correct theory for a revolutionary movement. I am afraid that I have largely learned from events as they have struck me, and sometimes very forcibly! The practical meaning of the Popular Front was brought home to me when the Party proceeded to manufacture one in York Township from a weird collection of discredited politicians, preachers, and "men of good-will". That was at the beginning of this year. Looking around for aid in fighting this move, I found active collaboration on the part of the Township branch of the Socialist Workers League. But I remained outside their ranks, even though I had accepted their theoretical position for a year past. I still doubted whether they knew how to apply theory to practise.

SWL Proves Itself

It was not until the last three months, with the formation of the Unemployed Union, and the consequent strike struggle that the positions of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers League stood out to me, in practise, in perfect contrast. During that struggle, the Communist Party sabotaged, from beginning to end. With one or two notable exceptions like Marriott, the Communist Party completely abandoned the struggle. When the men first came out at Dufferin Street, the CP could only advise them to return to work. When the possibility of being cut off relief was posed, the Communist Party, through its members in the Greater Toronto Committee, promised ample food for a week. At the crucial moment, they advised that no food was available. On the other hand, the slender resources of the Socialist Workers League were at the disposal of the Union from the very outset. Members of that organization worked like Trojans. I saw clearly which was the revolutionary workers' party. I joined the Socialist Workers League. And I advise every class-concious militant who wants to continue the struggle against capitalism and for socialism to do the same. DOWN WITH CLASS COLLABORATION! FOR THE WORKERS STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM AND AGAINST WAR! FOR SOCIALISM!

Tom Montague

SOCIALIST ACTION

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

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S. W. L. ADDS TWO NEW BRANCHES

VETERANS' LEADER EXPOSES SMASHING OF MILITANT W.E.S.L.

Tom Montague, Nat. Sec'y. Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League Recounts Story of Wrecked Anti-war Movement

Stalin's stranglers of Canadian Veterans' struggle against Imperialist War are already preparing openly for the next war. Screeching apostles of Herridge's "new democracy" — that brother-in-law of Iron Heel Bennett who cut the veterans' pensions when he was elected in 1932 to "end poverty" in a few days—these "communists" laid the foundation for their present open social-patriotism when they sabotaged and smashed the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League to make way for their policy of the Popular Front.

Approximately 35,000 war veterans mobilized from Halifax to Vancouver on a militant anti war basis formed the Canadian section of the I.A.C. (Internationale Des Anciens Combattants), a world-wide organization dedicated to the struggle against the blood bath now being prepared for us by our Imperialist masters. During the three years that have elapsed since the crumbling of this organization, not only in Canada and the U.S.A., but all over the world where the Popular Front policy has been carried out by the Kremlin stooges, I have received hundreds of letters from rank-and-file veterans and from many executives of former branches demanding an explanation for the collapse of the League and raising the possibilities of its revival. While I was compelled to reply to these letters by giving the best explanation I knew at the time, it is my earnest hope now that it is not too late to revive and rebuild that militant organisation in this country. First we must examine the reasons for that collapse, learn their lessons, and then see what can be done in the future. In this short series of articles, I propose to bring into the open the whole tragic story of criminal sabotage, basing my statements on the irrefutable evidence of letters and records that I have carefully preserved for such a day as now. These documents come not only from branches of the organization, from members of the Communist Party, but from the International organization of the veterans which shared our fate.

International in Scope

Many class-conscious workers who saw in the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League the spearhead of the defence-guards against fascism were not aware that it was a national section

(continued on page 4)

SCARBORO S.W.L. OFFERS PROGRAM FOR JOBLESS

Why is unemployed union dead since strike?

Scarboro unemployed have reason to be proud of their solidarity and their militant determination in the face of attack. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the official record, just made available, of the number of scabs in the April strike which was the answer to the various relief cuts ordered by Queen's Park.

When the strike began, on April 3rd, there were 610 men on the work list in the combined urban and rural areas of the Township. Only sixty-one of these (exactly ten per cent) scabbed in the first work period and less than half that figure had reported until the final days of the second period. By May 6th, with the "no work, no relief" edict already in force for a week, only 114 had returned to the jobs.

Splendid Strike Record

This is a record that effectively answers the faint-hearts and the reactionaries who are so fond of glibly parrotting that the workers will not "stick together". For this is not the record of a highly organized body of workers but on the contrary of men who met the challenge with barely a semblance of organization. The Scarboro Relief Union, the only unemployed association in the township, boasted on April 1st a membership of only sixty. Because of inactivity and

(continued on page 7)

Prairie Farmers, Jobless, Accept Program Of Action

Western organizer well received in Saskatchewan

By the launching this June of Socialist Workers' League branches in Wiseton and Saskatoon, Sask., the revolutionary socialist movement of Canada takes an enormous stride forward. We greet our new Western comrades, and wish them every success in the work of organizing the farmers and workers of the impoverished prairies.

Wiseton, the first farm branch in our history is of great significance for the struggle against capitalism, because of the desperate plight of the Western farmers, whether crops are good or bad, and their resultant fighting mood — which promises a hot time for the bosses' state in the very near future. The farmers are eager to hear the program of the SWL, and on June 14, they turned out, many coming several miles to listen to Western organizer Carl Hichin in Almonte Public School, in the heart of the farming district. This despite heavy rainstorms which made roads almost impassable. It was the first time in the history of the school that permission had been granted to a political party to hold a public meeting. The breaking of the field on the prairies is doubly meaningful, marking the undeniable fact that the Socialist Workers' League is in the ascendant, while the third parties of capitalism lose ground. The CCF and the "Communist" Party, reformist through and through, hopelessly tied to par-

(continued on page 4)

Calgary C.C.F. Split By Party Bosses

Rank and File Support Left Wing against Bureaucrats

Special to Socialist Action

Calgary, Alta:

Virtually the entire membership of the Calgary CCF Clubs is this month engaged in a show-down fight against the bureaucratic Alberta party machine which, late in May, expelled them on trumped-up charges of violating the CCF constitution. News of the wholesale expulsions, still little known to the CCF rank and file elsewhere in Canada, was at first withheld by mutual agreement between the membership affiliated to the Central Council of Calgary Clubs and CCF National organizer E. J. Garland and Alberta secretary, E.E. Roper.

(continued on page 4)

Daily Clarion Folds Up, Rejected By Workers

Startling proof of the rapid deterioration of the Canadian "Communist" Party was furnished last month when the Daily Clarion suspended publication. The paper's failure followed several months of a frantic and unsuccessful campaign to raise funds.

The story of that campaign, the seventh attempt, in the three years of the Daily's history, to keep the paper on its social-patriotic feet, can be read in the back numbers of the Stalin rag. Even after time-limits were extended, many important branches fell short of their quotas by as much as 80%. These figures were of course jacked up at the last moment, by office bookkeeping, but the truth couldn't be hid.

With characteristic dishonesty the Clarion closed its record of labor misleading with several lengthy and apologetic editorials which sought to convince the dwindling faithful that its failure is actually only a plan "to make a big advance in the

(continued on page 8)

Fed Up With Panaceas, Farmers Want Fighting Lead

By Carl Hichin

SASKATOON, Sask. — Playing man-Friday to the old line parties Carusoe, C.C.F, C.P. and U.F.C. reformism has gypped western farmers out of upwards of $20,000,000 by preventing a militant fight for 80c wheat. Both in Saskatchewan and Alberta the jobless are beginning to jump over the parliamentary traces which have so long hitched them to the C.P. chuck wagon. A similar small but growing tendency is evident among the railroaders who see with alarm the mounting threats of railway amalgamation. Premier John Bracken is building a special contraption of his own to counter the Buck-Herridge hodge-podge. And 2 new branches of the S.WL.. have been established in Saskatchewan since last writing; one in Saskatoon, the other in Wiseton.

The farmers now realize they are committed to 70c wheat. Those of them who had hoped for demonstrations along the royal route to demand 80c are terribly disappointed at the kowtowing petition sent by Buckingham Palace couple by United Farmers of Canada president, MR BICKERTON. They and others who have recently heard S.W.L. speakers realize that the C.C.F. and the C.P. were equally guilty of sabotage when these organizations failed to help develop, publicize and spread the demonstration plan. And what a powerful demonstration it would have been — reporters from the four corners of the globe flashing to the world accounts of farmers waving militant slogans instead of Union Jacks as the King and Queen of Imperialist Britain rolled through a rumbling countryside in sumptious but isolated glory. The farmers would have won hands down!

Farmers Must Fight

But the farmers are still goaded. Recent heavy rains promise them a crop, but even should it materialize it will not be theirs. Before they can sell one bushel of it, they will have to obtain a certificate from their respective municipalities, — this, to enable the municipalities to seize the crops for taxes! Come harvest time the farmers once again will be in fighting mood. The leadership for that time must be created now.

Recently the Saskatoon jobless demanded cash clothing relief to replace the hand-me out system. The municipal council agreed provided the jobless would accept a rate equal to that given in Regina, for Saskatoon had up to this time been giving a higher rate. In stepped the Stalinists agitating the jobless to accept the council's offer so that all the jobless in the province would be on the same rate thus "permitting the building of a united front". Acceptance of the cut was thus stated to be a "question of principle"! The net result was that the jobless were switched to cash clothing relief at a lower rate and were completely robbed of their regular spring clothing.

C P Acrobatics

In Alberta the C.P. has long opposed any militant demonstration against the "progressive" Aberhart government. The result — there is no relief in that province for the able-bodied single jobless. Little wonder that in at least one Saskatchewan town the jobless have jumped the C.P. traces and are now out in militant action while the jobless of Calgary are turning to the International organizers and preparing a hot summer for Aberhart.

The Herridge-Buck Tory coalition hs shifted its convention to early July, and Premier Bracken is 'up and at 'em" to save Manitoba for the Liberals. Fearing an invasion of his bailiwicks by the H and B boys, the Manitoba premier is seeking to band all Manitoba farm organizations behind his own banner at a convention to be held in a few days. Since CP has recently been rooting for both Herridge and Bracken and trying to force a shot gun marriage on them, it is still doubtful how Manitoba C. P'ers will manage to acclaim Herridge and Bracken simultaneously, now these two are at loggerheads. But a few more kinks in the C.P. line in the west could scarcely be noticeable; its so crooked already, even a Houdini couldn't get it into a round house!

The cordial reception recently given S.W.L. organizers by the farmers in Saskatchewan reveals two things however; first, the farmers are definitely beginning to tire of all the fake panacea movements and their contortions; secondly, militant socialist leadership is badly needed in the west if the whole tangled mess is to be straightened out to the advantages of both urban and rural toilers.

William Lyon McKenzie King, Canadian premier. Are Hepburn and Duplessis planning to muscle-in on him?

Mitch and Maurice Cook Up Peppery Stew For King

Special to Socialist Action
BY LOUIS GAGNON

MONTREAL — "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown", even if that crown is only the insignia of the Liberal Party leader's position as Prime Minister of Canada. Willie King sure has a tough time. Having huffed and puffed around after his long-legged Emperor for several weeks, you might think he was entitled to a bit of a rest. But no, nothing doing, so long as those hot tamales, Hepburn and Duplessis are in the vicinity.

Most gentlemen would take the occasion of the King's visit as one for a political truce. In fact, ultra-gentlemen like the Canadian Communist Party leaders who appeared to meet their king in plug hat and all, took the occasion to renounce the struggle completely, insofar as it might be against British Imperialism. But Mitch and Maurice are no gentlemen. Neither are they revolutionaries. They are a couple of first-class demagogues on the make. And neither is satisfied with his relatively small provincial puddle. They look to the federal arena as a field more worthy of their talents. So, right in the middle of the King's visit, what do Mitch and Maurice do but have a conference, in Toronto, at the King Edward Hotel. "Forest limits" they replied to enquiring reporters, when asked about the subject of their discussions. "Oh yeah?" said Willie King when his spies reported accordingly.

Grease the Skids

Journals like SATURDAY NIGHT have speculated on the object of that meeting. We do not pretend to bring to bear a greater insight into the affairs of these rogues than their own colleagues, and we are willing to consider the analysis of SATURDAY NIGHT when that journal comes out with headline:
MITCH AND MAURICE GREASE THE SKIDS! —(for King, of course)

Another interesting little point brought out by the same people is about the "Leadership League," that outfit which decided to stop leading before it started since the Canadian bourgeoisie didn't seem to need such a lead at the moment. Since its first great splash, the Leadership League has remained in a semi-moribund state in its swanky offices in the 'Victory Building," Toronto. Its page in the GLOBE AAD MAIL is gradually being crowded out by other news and by advertisements. But C. George McCullagh is nothing if not ambitious. Might he not lend his offices, his paper, his skeleton organisation towards a new National Front headed by Mitch and Maurice in the East, Herridge and Buck in the West? Such a combination might well finish the fumbling King, would take the wind from the sails of the thoroughly-decayed Conservative Party organization now trying to make a come back.

Strange Bedfellows

True, among this motley crew there is little in common except their dislike of King, their greed for power. But political emergencies have made stranger bed fellows in the past, particularly when such things as "principles" have become to ALL of them merely an old-fashioned word used by hopeless sectarians like the Trotskyists. Certainly if Buck can sleep with Herridge, he can make room in the same bed for Mitch. Maurice and George.

Such a speculation may be far-fetched. It may never materialize, or a war crisis may force a merger of them all, with King on top of the heap. We cannot tell. But there is one thing we know. These people are all of the same colour, and that colour is identical with the colour of Prime Minister King and the leader of the Opposition. They are all war-mongers and war supporters. They are all toadies at the feet of British Imperialism, all supporters of Capitalism. Their promises, their plans, have nothing for the Canadian workers and farmers but disappointment and disillusionment.

Our road is the road of the Canadian revolution. Down with the demagogues of Capitalism!

SOCIALIST ACTION

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HAVE YOU SENT YOURS?

Who Are The Disrupters In York Unemployed Union?

C.P. Slander Campaign Against S.W.L. Strike Leaders Rebuffed By District council resolution

At the beginning of June, the Socialist Workers League, in accordance with a time-honored working class right challenged only by the Fascists, held an Open Meeting in York Township, at Silverthorne Calvary Hall. The meeting dealt specifically with our analysis of the Relief Strike, and perspectives for future struggle. Comrade Coates, of Silverthorne, was in the chair, and Butterworth of Ward 3, Kane of Scarboro, and Montague devoted considerable time to a step-by-step examination of the strike's progress, and in the course of their examination, proved beyond a shadow of doubt that no small factor in the strike's failure to prevent the relief cut was the sabotage role of the Communist Party, anxious as it now is to preserve "harmony" between workers and capitalists. Comrade Morrow concluded by pointing out the place of the militant worker is in the Socialist Workers League, the only organization in Canada that is fighting sincerely for the interests of the working class.

Two lone Stalinists were present in the hall. None of the leaders dared face our comrades on the open platform to dispute the array of facts that were cited to reveal the role of their party. In fact, the Township CP suddenly called a "membership meeting" on the same night, to keep "the faithful" away from our meeting, in case they would hear too much for the good of their souls.

We had deliberately called an open meeting to make our analysis rather than use the platform of the newly-formed Union and thus face a charge of "dragging politics into the Union". Our meeting was called in the face of a persistent whispering campaign initiated by members of the Communist Party to the effect that "Montague sold out the strike for fear of having his pension cut off", "Bill Butterworth got 200 dollars for selling out" and other such vicious stories that are the product of a fertile mind and a bankrupt policy. We challenged these people to bring these stories into the open, to meet us on an outside platform in debate. They dared not!

Unscrupulous Attack

Instead, with that usual method by which the Communist Party insists on either ruling or smashing any organization it goes into—that is, any organization but Capitalism itself—they packed the next meeting of the Silverthorne Local of the Union — AND PROCEEDED TO USE THE UNION PLATFORM TO DRAG IN THEIR OWN PARTICULAR VIRULENT FORM OF POLITICS—SLANDER. They tried to do the same thing in Mount Dennis, but the membership promptly set them back on their ears and they gave up the attempt shamefacedly. They dared not open their mouths in Ward 3, where they are completely discredited, but they took advantage of the confusion of a neutral chairman in Ward 1, to use the platform of that local for a similar unscrupulous attack on Montague and Butterworth.

What do these people expect to gain from such tactics? All they did in Silverthorne was to cause several Union members to apply to the S.W.L for membership declaring: "Now we see that you are right. These people are the wreckers"

Factionalism Banned

For our part, we refuse to raise this type of factional politics in the Union. Not because we think for a moment that politics can be separated from the economic struggle. We know they are completely bound together, and we think that it is the task of the Union to learn that lesson. But we know that a factional fight on the Union platform at this stage will break the Union up. That is why we supported, against the Communist Party votes a resolution in the District Council of the Union, forbidding such tactics. If, in the face of this resolution, they persist in trying to turn the Union into a bull-pen, then the Union will have to take disciplinary action against these people. For we are now convinced that the aim of the Communist Party inside the union is:

1. To smash the Union as an economic organization struggling for better relief conditions for the Unemployed.

2. To convert the Union into a vote-gathering machine for Popular Front candidates in the coming elections.

Both of these objectives we will oppose with tooth and nail. And we call upon every sincere militant worker within the Union to join us in this fight. On the other hand, we pose the perspectives:

1 Continue the struggle for better Relief conditions.

2. Let us build a province wide Unemployed Union as a step towards a genuine national Unemployed Union.

3. When we vote for a support poltical candidates, we pick those who stand on a WORKING CLASS platform.

During the summer months, the S.W.L. will be holding Open Air meetings, every Friday and Saturday night, in Silverthorne and in Ward 1. There the workers of York Township will have the opportunity of contrasting our program with that of other political parties soliciting their support. Let the workers judge whom they should support!

The Worker's Angle

By Robertson

The amateur socialists and professional professors who guide the editorial policy of the Canadian Forum found themselves able last month to salaam to royalty like all the other good imperialists. In its lead editorial, the June number announced: "The Crown is not only the symbol of the British Commonwealth — a connection we all welcome, however much we may differ as to its practical political implications. As King of Canada, his Majesty is also the living embodiment of Canadian national unity, and the Royal tour should strengthen that unity". Setting aside the fact that His and Her Majesty were openly out to strengthen Canadian unity for the coming Empire war, and the further fact that real socialism must be unalterably opposed to such a war, one might well ask why the Canadian Forum, supported by CCFers and itself supporting the CCF, is welcoming a connection with the British Commonwealth at all? What is this Commonwealth that "we" sould be proud of it?

* * * * *

There are, for instance, the governments of the ruling castes in British Africa, with whom Editor Grube of the Forum is glad evidently to be "connected". How did we get connected with them? Well, we began with a settlement of British slave-dealers in Cape Colony who wangled some Dutch farmers out of the land they had stolen from the blacks. Then, in the 1870's that great Saint of Imperialism, Cecil Rhodes, came out to the Cape. The Boers had just found diamonds in "their" territory of Kimberley, and one of Rhodes' first jobs was to get democratic Britain to annex Kimberley. Letting others dig out the diamonds, Rhodes formed a monopoly trust to finance the digging. By 1890 he was a governor of a monopoly which controlled 90% of the world's diamond supply.

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Then gold was discovered in the Transvaal, another Boer territory. Rhodes got a monopoly on that, and the premiership of Cape Colony in the bargain. Of course natives had to be used to work the mines. To increase the labor supply Bechuanaland, further north, was also "annexed". Then, still farther north, new mines were discovered in the land of the Matabeles. The Portugese tried to horn in here, but Rhodes bribed and tricked the Matabele king into handing over his whole country. The king got a thousands rifles and a few pounds out of it; he couldn't read the document Rhodes got him to put his mark to. Later he learned he had signed away the whole country. It is now Southern Rhodesia, a partner in "our" Commonwealth.

* * * * *

By the way, Rhodesia withdrew recently from the New York World's Fair because it didn't want to be associated with "depraved and obscene exhibits". Without holding any brief for the cultural value of the exploitation of semi-naked girls at Flushing, I think it safe to say that an exhibit of the real history of Southern Rhodesia would make the "depravity and obscenity" at the Fair look like a Sunday school picnic in Ontario. Such an exhibit would show how Rhodes got his million-pound-a-year income. It would have a tableau of Rhodes "making friends" with a native chief by demonstrating how a machine gun could mow down a field of grain, and an other of a battlefield after Rhodes and his English public-school pirates had got through demonstrating how machine-guns could mow down natives who wouldn't become landless serfs so easily.

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Then there is West Africa, another constellation in that Commonwe lth the Forum is so glad to be connected with. British possessions there were built up on three centuries of the slave-trade, during which eight million defenseless Africans were hunted down, captured like animals, shipped and sold in America. The eight million were those who survived long enough to be sold. J.F. Horabin, in his excellent little book "How Empires Grow", estimates that about another forty million either died rather than be captured or succumbed on the hell-ships going over. The twenty million who were still left in Nigeria were then, when it was found more profitable to abolish outright slavery, put under another British "protectorate". They have been forced ever since to work the gold mines, collect ivory, and do the other chores of Empire at pay so low that the slightest famine sweeps them off in masses.

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The story of British East Africa is much the same — slavery, followed by the tricking of native chiefs by blanket agreements to which the illiterate blacks appended their crosses. Then the cold-blooded maxim gun to annihilate such proud resisters as the Ugandi. Missionary societies were utilized by Victoria's government, and by her own son-in-law, Marquis of Lorne, to provide a polite smoke screen of Christianity. The parsons lobbied parliament and got the people's money to found monoply trading interests, build monopoly railroads, etc. The Treasurer of the Church Missionary Society received a knighthood and a cut large enough to retire him in riches. The millions of natives are still among the most impoverished and unhappy people on earth.

* * * * *

This is merely lifting a corner of the curtain on one of the units of this Commonwealth of Nations which the Forum welcomes — of course "we may differ as to its practical political implications", But evidently those differences are

(continued on page 5)

THEIR CRISIS

BY ALEXANDER

TORONTO — The final moves of the game proceed. Last issue, we predicted, in defiance of all the capitalist-press stories— (we have no advertising revenue to worry about) — that a crisis was maturing for the end of July or early August. We see no reason for changing our predictions. On the contrary, events of the last month have strengthened the tendency towards another European show-down.

On the one hand, the Russians have continued to remain coy towards an understanding with the British, lending strength to the contention of Krivitsky that they have already reached an agreement with Germany. In any event, they are keeping that door open.

Danzig Powder-Barrel

On the other hand, the Japanese, either with a direct tip-off from Germany or taking advantage of the approaching crisis in Europe, are striking in the far east to wipe out the last vestiges of British authority in China, as a prelude to driving them out altogether. The very evasiveness of Chamberlain in the face of Japanese "provocation", sufficient provocation to have precipitated a dozen wars in the days of Britain's glory, reveals better than any formal statement the true situation in Europe.

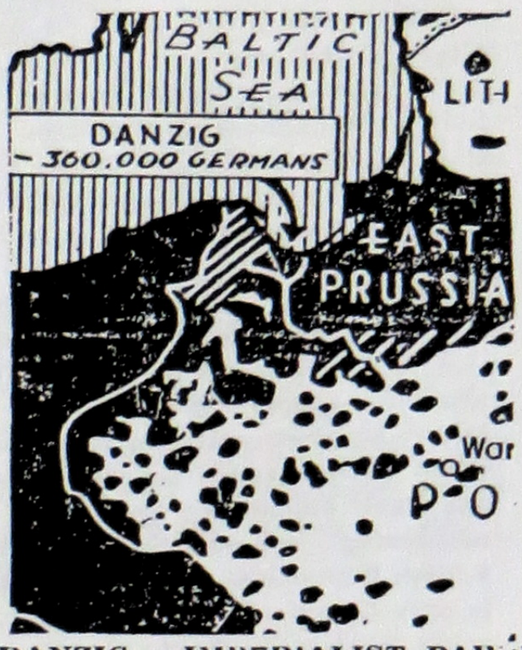
Tales of troop-mobilization in Germany opposite the Maginot Line are not even treated with the courtesy of a denial. German propaganda in Danzig reaches new heights. Within weeks, Chamberlain is going to be presented with another blunt alternative: "Either put up or shut up!"

This time, it might well be that a larger gamble will be attempted by the Germans, and a move in North Africa will accompany the move against the Poles. If Japanese pressure continues in the East, and the American imperialists continue to watch their British brethren crawling out on the end of that limb, Chamberlain may do another Munich, and Hitler will be able to "save the peace of Europe" as the Nazis humorously put it every time they walk into another neighbour's back yard.

But, again, if the royal slumming in America justifies the belief in some British quarters that the Americans will be "in" from the drop of the hat, well then, there may be no back-down, there may be a show-down, and the final Imperialist War will be on.

Enemy at Home

Certainly, the instruments of Capitalist propaganda, from the Communist Party to the Conservative Party, have done their job well. Even the permanent crisis of unemployment with its steadily worsening conditions of life has brought many a worker to the point that he would welcome a war for the clothing and food that would go with the rifle they would hand him. That is the curse of the decaying system. that mutual destruction should seem the only way out to disheartened and demoralized victims of Capitalism.



DANZIG - IMPERIALIST PAWN

We hate war. We hate, above all, Imperialist War. We are for the Class War as the only means of saving society for a better life and as the only road to the abolition of war. With the strides that the S.W.L. has been making in recent months towards a truly national set-up, we are confident that time is on our side, that the longer so-called "peace" is granted us, the stronger we will be for the final crisis. But if war comes, we know our role then also. It will not be the shooting down of workers in other lands. Let them give us guns. Let them put us in their army. Lenin long ago told us the role of the revolutionary in war time. THE ENEMY IS AT HOME! Let us remember that slogan for the crisis that is ahead.

Stranglers of Veterans' Struggle

(continued from page 1)

of a worldwide war veterns movement. To appreciate exactly what was destroyed by Stalinism, I must give a brief picture of the movement internationally. The I.A.C. was founded in 1925 with international headquarters at Amsterdam and by 1932 it had strong national movements in every country in Europe, including the U.S.S.R. In this same year it was being built in Canada and the U.S.A. The Sixth World Congress held in Amsterdam in 1932 was attended by delegates from every country but the Americas. The following year, Hitler came to power in Germany, and the Bureau which had been in Berlin, was moved to the Saar territory, at that time not in Germany. The Seventh World Congress scheduled to be held in the Saar territory in August, 1934 was delayed, and the Executive met in Paris, in July instead. I still have the minutes of that Paris meeting, and if they could be published in detail, they would open the eyes of the blindest party member, giving a revelation into the role the Communist Party played in strangling a mighty working class movement by its treachery of the "popular front" and "defend democracy".

Against War and Capitalism

Let me quote some excerpts to show the revolutionary temper of the movement at that time: Comrade Jerram of France, speaking against Imperialist War, after expressing sorrow at the imprisonment of his comrade Hugo Graef in Germany, said: "In all capitalist countries we must fight relentlessly against nationalistic illusions and democratic demagogy; we are not going to allow the world's workers to be fooled again, we will also teach the generations which follow us that the only war we will fight is for world workers' power. In the last war we staked our lives in the trenches for the bourgeoisie, but the future war will find us only on the side of the proletariat in the struggle of the exploited against the exploiters."

Speaking against Fascism and Hitler, Comrade Otto W., Germany, said: 'After the Amsterdam Congress the German section got into a state of deplorable confusion as a result of the betrayal of the German working class by its leaders. The rottenness of this leadership can be seen by the way in which our German section went almost completely over to the fascists without a murmur of protest. The proletarian elements in the Fascist organizations must be organized into fractions wherever possible. We must redeem the revolution. These workers with our material can do effective work. We have a great historic mission to fulfill, to involve the millions of war veterans and workers in the fighting front of the militant proletariat against Imperialist War and Fascism. Otherwise the Bourgeoisie

(continued on page 8)

S.W.L. Grows in West

(continued from page 1)

liamentarism, and rotten with bureaucracy and corruption, are on the run.

C.C.F., C.P. Decay

The Alberta CCF, with arrogant disregard for the wishes of the majority of its Calgary membership and in spite of its 'democratic" pretensions, has just expelled the left-wing Central Council, and thereby split away all the Calgary clubs, who backed their radical leadership.

For stalinism too, the going has become very rough. The seemingly prosperous facade of the ex-Communist Party has cracked at last. The rapid disintegration of its ranks as members drop out in disgust especially in the language movements, which has always been the financial backbone of the party, has made itself sharply felt with the folding up of the Daily Clarion. In Saskatchewan where the C.P. was always weak, the party is reduced to a mere shell, and Saskatoon, its last stand has only a handful of members.

SWL Turns to Masses

The Socialist Workers' League, formerly the left wing of the CCF, expelled last December because of its revolutionary program, has been in existence as an independent organization only for 3 months. Our Western organizer had been in the field only 3 months. We have reason to feel proud of those achievements. Our party has broken from its past as a small propaganda group, and has definitely made the turn towards a mass party of SOCIALIST ACTION. Organizers are immediately setting out for further work in Saskatchewan and Alberta, in northern and south western Ontario, and in the Maritimes. We are confident of success in these tasks.

FORWARD TO THE FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SWL.

Wholesale Expulsion From Calgary C. C. F.

(continued from page 1)

But these two worthies, at the first opportunity, published a distorted statement of the affair in the Calgary capitalist press.

Stooge Executive Set Up

According to the account given the reactionary Calgary Daily Herald of May 22 by High-Muck-a-Mucks Garland and Roper, "certain members" had been expelled for non-conformance to the constitution. The statement, however, added calmly that "in view of the fact that the majority of the executives of the Calgary Central Coucil of CCF Clubs were affected by the ruling, that body has been reorganized" (our emphasis). The statement concludes with the arbitrary announcement of an entire new group of unrepresentative nonenties who are to be recognized as the proper executives.

As might be inferred, the truth is that practically the whole membership stood solid with its local executives, and Roper, who had hoped to get rid of the leading militants only, found that he was without a party. The Calgary Clubs have refused to recognize the expulsion order, refused to surrender their hall and funds, and are appealing to the support of the national membership with the slogans: "Away with Bureaucracy and Dictatorship", "Fight for Organizational Democracy", and "Forward to Socialism".

(continued on page 5)

Wholesale Expulsion From Calgary CCF

(continued from page 4)

Streamlined Respectability

The slogans reveal that behind the struggle is the anti-socialist policy of Roper and his fellow careerist leaders who are trying to streamline the CCF into a "respectable" third party of capitalism for the fall elections. The militant Calgary Council has long been a thorn in Roper's side because of its class-struggle character. Some time ago Garland tried unsuccessfully to cuse up on the sale of Lenin pamphlets and other revolutionary books being sold along with CCF literature in the Calgary Council's public bookstore.

Now, with elections in sight, the CCF bureaucrats, in Alberta as everywhere in Canada, are straining their muscles to head the CCF into union with the Canadian Labor Party, the CP, and any other pseudo-labor organization which is out to head the workers o-ff from radicalism and towards collaboration with the capitalists in the coming war.

Political Implications

The full political implications of the struggle are obviously not clear yet to many of Calgary CCFers, thanks to the political confusion in which the CCF keeps its membership, but those in revolt are already realizing that they have nothing to hope for from the national CCF executive, which is simply a concentration of the middle-class bureaucracy they are fighting. Undoubtedly their revolt, if stoutly continued, must culminate in a revolutionary movement of the Calgary workers separate from the CCF.

At present the expelled CCFers are rightly seeking to make use of what little democratic machinery is left in the CCF to carry their fight throughout the party. The following public statement, issued by a prominent expelled member, ..., former president of the Central Council, summarizes the immediate issues in dispute:

Statement of a leading Calgary CCF member on the split in the Calgary CCF

"Regretting that internal differences of the CCF are being aired in the daily press and over the radio, I am nevertheless compelled, on account of the confusion that has been aroused in the minds of the people to make another public statement in order to clarify the situation .

"The first thing to make clear is that there was an understanding between Mr. E.J. Garland and Mr. E.E. Roper, and the membership affiliated to the Central Council of CCF Clubs, with headquarters at 610 Centre St., that the meeting in dispute would not be ventilated in the press. However, at the first opportunity, what was obviuosly a prepared statement by Messers Garland and Roper, was published in the Calgary daily papers .

"That statement was incorrect and misleading. The truth is that practically the entire membership of the clubs affiliated to the Calgary Central Council was expelled, and not merely a few members of the executive as was indicated in this and other reports. The Council organized by Messrs Garland and Roper was set up from a few individuals and does not represent the Calgary CCF Clubs".

Expulsion not Recognized

"The expulsion order is not recognized by the Calgary Central Council or by the membership. Neither the Federal nor Provincial executives have the constitutional right to expel individual members or clubs. This power lies with Clubs, Central Councils of Clubs, and with conventions".

"Consciously or otherwise, reports have been so phrased as to lead people to believe that the whole point at issue is between the Calgary branch of the Labor Party and the CCF Clubs. It is quite true that difficulty has been found in arriving at a satisfactory basis of co-operation between these two parties, but the root of the trouble lies much deeper than that. It is bureaucratic control that the clubs are resisting".

"We insist that the Provincial Executive of the CCF has no moral right to impose upon the membership a constitution drawn up by twelve executive members, and not yet ratified by either a convention or reference to the membership. The action of the executive is also a direct contradiction to CCF Provincial policy, written by Mr. William Irvine. On the first page the question is posed: "What is the difference between the CCF and all other political parties?" The answer given is: "The CCF is democratic in that the rank and file of its membership determines its policies and chooses its candidates for elections without interference on the part of any official or external authority".

"This principle has been violated, so there is clearly only one possible course that the Central Council of CCF Clubs can pursue, and that is to continue the fight for democratic control within the organization."

The Worker's Angle

(continued from page 3)

not serious enough to prevent a "welcome" cheer.

Workers will reserve their enthusiasm for dis-connection of Empire. Fof it is only through the break up of the British Commonwealth— where wealth is common only to the English ruling class— that the power for world socialism can be released. A world in which the millions of Africa and Asia are slaves of imperialism can never be a socialist world.

Carl Hichin Replies To Clarion Slander

It would be difficult to imagine a document more crammed with lies and libel than that published by the Communist Party in the Daily Clarion of June 16 and intended as an attack on my personal character and through me, on the Socialist Workers League.

The "charge" that I was expelled from the Communist Party in the spring of 1938 is lie No. 1. On or about June 15, 1938 Oscar Ryan, secretary of the C.P. Clarion unit wrote me at Port Burwell, Ont. on behalf of the C.P. of C. asking me what were my intentions. This knowledge, Ryan wrote, was needed so that my transfer to another C.P. branch could me arranged if necessary. That was in June 1938. My reply was: "I have no desire to continue membership". On Jan. 1, 1939 Chas. C. Marriott, formerly national executive secretary of the C.P. of C. and Alfie Campbell, sub-district organizer for the C.P. of C., asked me to reconsider my decision and rejoin the C.P. of C.! That was on Jan. 1, 1939.

The second in the list of "charges" is that I was expelled from the C.P. of C. in Vancouver in 1932: That is lie No. 2. I never was a member of the C.P. of C. in Vancouver, or British Columbia for that matter.

For some period of time I was active in the labor movement in British Columbia, but never, at any time, in the C.P. of C. I can produce dozens of witnesses to prove that. Never having been a member there, I could not be expelled.

My only dealings with the C.P. of C. in British Columbia arose as follows. I, without the assistance of the C.P. of C. and sometimes hampered by it, organized relief camps 204, 207, 209, Cheam View, and Jones Creek. While the C.P. of C. methods of organizing camps were repeatedly failing, mine succeded. I was therefore asked to meet with a special buro of C.P'ers to discuss with them organizational methods. That was my sole dealing with the C.P.of C. in British Columbia.

While in that province I did speak on the Friends of the Soviet Union platform, and the C.P. of C. let it be known they did not like the "line of my speech". I also helped a friend Paddy O'Bren, start a militant veterans' paper. Paddy was later so hounded as an alleged Trotskyist by the Stalinists that today he is in a mental institution. Perhaps it is intended to deal similarly with me, Mr. Sam Carr, since thuggery failed to scare me.

And when I left B.C., the secretary of the Workers' Ex servicemen's League volunteered to write J.T. Wilson, then national secretary of the W.E.S.L. recommending me as an extremely able and valualbe organizer", who could help Wilson and the C.P. of C. preprare for the National Convention of the W.E.S.L. That recommendation is still in existance, Mr. Sam Carr!

I repeat, this B.C. "charge" is lie No. 2 and I could proceed through the whole list of "charges" in similar manner. Moreover, could one expect anyone capable of base lying to stop short of forgery But the one thing the C.P. wants, now that the workers of Canada have put the Clarion out of business, is publicity in Toronto for their filthy lies. I refuse to help them.

Of course the writer of the contemptible article was too cowardly to sign his name. He knew that he lied, that is why the article was not circulated in Manitoba where, because I am well known there, the workers would regognize these S. P.U. fabrications for what they are.

In fact in Manitoba, where thousands of workers know me intimately as a co-worker, C.P. spokesmen are driven to saying that I "went phoney" from jealousy arising from certain alleged activities of my wife!! Nay, more! Were I the "demoralized" person the Clarion tries to paint, would the C.P. in Manitoba suddenly have started to pretend to organize the veterans so that they would not through me come under the banner of the 4th International? These vets have known me intimately for years. Yet mark you, Sam Carr, that was the substance of an admission made before 2 witnesses by one of your Stalinist stooges on the evening of June 27th, 1939. (Names and addresses of the witnesses and the name of the Stalinist stooge will be supplied to any sincere inquirer. The 2 witnesses are members of no party).

Nor was this vile Clarion concoction the first attempt to vilify me. The story of a previous attempt is written into the records of a Manitoba court. During the latter part of 1938, some employees of the Stalinist Ukrainian paper, known to be C.P'ers, actually went into a Winnipeg court and swore that in 1936 I, as chairman of the Communist Election Publicity Committee, had secretly conspired with them to print and publish in Ukrainian on the Stalinist Ukrainian press, thousands of copies of a Stalinist election paper in Ukrainian. They went on to say that under my influence they had printed the paper and it had been distributed in thousands of copies without the knowledge of their Stalinist bosses!

Could anything be more damnably ridiculous? Manitoba workers laughed till they cried; they knew I could not write one word of Ukrainian! Evidently, the Stalinists hoped I would not hear of the whole nefarious scheme until it was too late, but Manitoba friends warned me. The bench of course refused to accept the Stalinist cock and bull story. But had the Stalinists been able to make the story stick I would have been ruined as a journalist. They feared, and they will fear my pen and the pen of all honest militants. That is why in all their libelous columns there is not one political reference to the numerous statements and articles I have written for 4th. International publications.

Carl Hichin

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TORONTO JULY 1939

Odours of Decay

With machine-like regularity, the late unlamented Daily Clarion, flung a goodly share of mud at the Trotskyite movement which never stuck. This movement, which the Clarion nas buried so often insists on staying very much alive.

The latest mud-slinging effort appears in the June 16th issue, one day before its demise as a daily. It is peculiarly appropriate that its dying words should plumb new depths.

The article is entitled "A Typical Trotskyist Quartette". In it two leading militants of the S.W.L., Carl Hichin and Tom Montague, who have recently broken with the C.P.., are attacked in an utterly libellous way. New lows in yellow journalism are created: "Hopeless degenerates, demoralized alcoholics, a veritable cesspool of the worst refuse of society." — this is the tone and content of the article, to quote only one choice tidbit. Not a word is directed at the political statements made by these two militants and published in recent issues of Socialist Action.

Montague and Hichin are linked with two others, Walsh and Perron, both unknown to the Socialist Workers League, in a typical Moscow amalagam. It may be that Walsh and Perron broke from Stalinism in a fascist direction. Disillusionment with Stalinism has caused many to take this unfortunate path. But Canadian workers know that Montague and Hichin are revolutionary socialists, publicly adhering to and working for the Socialist Workers League of Canada. At present Hichin is on an organizing tour in the west, where years before he helped to build the Communist Party. Montague has just come through the leadership of a militant unemployed strike in York Township. Every York worker knows the valiant service he has rendered in the recent period.

Stalinism finds it necessary to direct its sharpest blows at the best working class militants. It cannot do this with honest political criticism. It uses the time-honored methods of the G.P.U. This "anonymous" article is evidently written by one "F.R.", as this initial appears accidently in a note in the middle of the text. Could this be Fred Rose, head of the Control Commission of the Canadian Communist Party that is the alleged Canadian branch of the G.P.U., Stalin's secret police?

Revealing Facts will be disclosed in coming issues of Socialist Action concerning the operations of the G.P.U. in this country and the methods used to blackmail dissidents into silence.

A dying dog often proves dangerous. But we are confident that the Canadian working class is immune to this type of frameup, which has gone down the sewer where it belongs.

As the Stalinist movement decays more and more rapidly, it will take more desperate measures. The article referred to is probably only a taste of what we can expect from Stalinism in its death agony. Having lost its mass following in the Finnish and Ukranian fields, and rapidly shedding the last of its militants, in many sections only the framework of the paid bureaucrats and their personal following remains. This is especially noticeable in the west, where the whole C.P. movement is now only a shell of its former self.

The experience of the Moscow Trials and the Krivitsky disclosures have put the entire working class on guard against a repetition of frameup tactics in this country. The Canadian section of the G.P.U. has amassed a great deal of personal information on its followers. We know that many leading C.P. members are disgusted with Stalinism and are anxious to breathe the fresh air of a revolutionary movement once more. We know, too, that they hesitate to make the break, because they know the kind of slander and personal hounding they can expect from this source. But to be a revolutionary soldier must to be able to withstand the torments and vilification of reaction in whatever form it may appear. And Stalinism is the very worst type!

The coming months are therefore in a sense a crucial testing period for these workers. Will they be able to make the grade or will they continue their grumbling silence which does the proletariat little good? It is pointless to wait for someone at the top to make the break. That is pure rationalization. One has no guarantees that it will ever come. On the contrary the record of Buck and Co., indicates that the bureaucracy at the top is still holding together as firmly as ever.

Let Montague and Hichin be the example. They have shown the way. Others in increasing numbers will follow. And we shall soon have a revolutionary movement that can storm the bastilles of capitalism!

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Calgary C.C.F. Split

We are glad to print, in our correspondence column in this issue, the letter of "Anti-Bureaucrat" which deals with the highhanded expulsion of the Calgary CCF, reported elsewhere in this number. Its author is a well-known Alberta militant, a members of the CP in its radical days, and now one of the most capable speakers and workers in the CCF.

We are especially glad to print his contribution because in doing so we give him the **first opportunity he has had to get his letter into the labor press.** Despite the general nature of the letter, its mildness and reasonableness of tone, it was **refused by the CCF papers.** The Stalinite Clarion, far from printing it, launched an attack on the ousted Calgary CCF and supported the bureaucrats, Roper and Garland.

We agree with "Anti-Bureaucrat" that bureaucracy is a fatal evil in a working-class organization, and that the ultimate responsibilty for both its rise and its elimination rests with the rank and file. "Eternal vigilance", said Patrick Henry "is the price of democracy."

There is a danger however in posing the question as abstractly as 'Anti-Bureaucrat" does, a danger which the revolting Calgary CCFers must realize, and avoid. It is not enough for leaders and rank and file to have "mutual understanding". They must also have mutual interests.

Most important of all, leaders and rank and file must have mutual aims. This flows from mutual interests. The basis of the dispute in the Calgary. CCF is the anti-working class politics of the top CCF leadership. The CCF is not a radical party; it is not even a mass Labor Party such as exists in England. It is a disunified group headed by muddled or careerist reformers who by the spell of lawyers' oratory, have been dragging socialist-minded workers and farmers away from socialism. Their policies approach more and more the rank patriotism of the warmongering Stalinites. They are teaching their followers to "postpone" socialism in favor of this or that trifling reform which will be swept away tomorrow by the same parliament that put it in. The speeches of Woodsworth and Coldwell have already made it clear that they intend the CCF to support the coming war of the British Empire.

These are the basic treacheries of the leadership which compel it to be bureaucratic. The fight against "dictatorship" must at the same time, if it is to result in a genuinely militant socialist movement, be a fight also against reformism, against Stalinist social-patriotism and against imperialist war.

The Socialist Workers League is the only organization of Canadian workers which wages this fight. It was organized in Toronto from just such a rank-and-file CCF revolt as the Calgary militants have waged. If the latter will pursue their struggle courageously they will come to the same road. We stand ready to join hands with them and other fighting workers in the building of a new militant socialist party in this country.

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Hail U.S. Anti-War Convention

The Socialist Workers Party, our brother party of the IVth International in the United States will have just adjourned its second national convention, — a bold challenge to war and fascism,—by the time this appears in print. We neverthless greet our American Comrades as they leave New Work by freight, thumb or car, for every State of the Union, strengthened and inspired, to resume the revolutionary struggle.

The convention has been held in an America over which the ominous clouds of a cataclysmic war, grinding poverty, and swiftly growing fascist reaction deepen daily. Millions of WPA workers and their families have been thrown on the streets as 'I hate War" Roosevelt and his Big Business Congress ruthlessly slash work-relief budgets, and boost armament appropriations to unheard-of heights. The Socialist Workers Party, with its fighting program of "All war funds to the unemployed" and its revolutionary internationalism is the only genuine anti-war force in the country.

In New York itself, just a few weeks before the convention, Coughlin fascists sought to invade the workers' strongholds, particularly the needle trades area, with their poisonous race-hatred, anti-unionism and religious intolerance. Fascists have tried to smash labour street meetings, have broken into workers' halls and union headquarters. The SWP, by its audacious lead last Feburary, in the ralling of tens of thousands of workers outside Madison Square Gardens against the Bund rally, within, has already proven that it means business in the fight against Fascism. Now, its militants, daily, in their unions and mass organizations press for the formation of WORKERS' DEFENCE GUARDS to protect labour's democratic rights, its press, unions and meetings against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

As the convention met, not only the American workers, but the tortured European proletariat and colonial peoples, betrayed time and again by social democracy and Stalinism watched with new hope. The American proletariat is young, virile, its forces unspent, it numbers and resources limitless. It has never been defeated, it has yet to come to grips,to face the inevitable showdown with its mortal enemy—the ruling plutocracy of the Sixty Families and their state tools. The American workers, through the Socialist Workers Party, are forging their weapon, in the form of a truly democratic mass revolutionary party which will hack off the bloodstained grip of capitalism upon the national wealth, and make poverty and war forever impossible.

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Socialist Action

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE S.U.O.

[Following up the article in the June issue of Socialist Action on the "Problem of the Ukraine" by Leon Trotsky which has provoked favourable comment and widespread discussion throughout the Ukrainian labor movement, we publish below an open letter to the S.U.O., inviting collaboration with the Fourth International.]

June 17, 1939

To the S.U.O. (Alliance of Ukrainian Organizations), c/o T. Kobzey,
National Secretary,
Winnipeg, Man.

Dear Comrades:

We are aware that the S.U.O. is a cultural organization sincerely devoted to the class struggle of the workers and one which pays particular attention to the emancipation of the Ukrainian people from the yoke of foreign powers, including the degenerated bureaucracy that rules over the U.S.S.R.

The Socialist Workers' League, Canadian section of the Fourth International, is likewise devoted to similar aims, and conducts a vigorous class struggle policy on all matters of political significance, including the task of helping to free the oppressed nations from the yoke of imperialism. In the present epoch, the Fourth International considers the struggle of oppressed nations against their imperialist slaveholders of primary importance to the general struggle for world socialism. As such, there is a close affinity between the programs of the S.U.O., and that of the S.W.L.

In the present world situation, with the threat of another world slaughter close at hand, it would be criminal not to seek out all elements struggling for the revolutionary freedom of the disinherited of all lands, in order to present a unified phalanx against world imperialism and its agents, conscious or otherwise, in the ranks of the labor movement. In this connection, the S.W.L. considers the war-mongering Stalinist movement a most important obstacle in the fight.

We understand that your organization is contemplating a convention in the near future We should like to take this opportunity of asking you to consider our program, and pose the question of affiliation with the Fourth International at the conference. We draw your attention particularly to the enclosed statement of our attitude to the Ukrainian problem, which we feel confident will be of the utmost importance in such a discussion at your convention.

We are confident that you will find our program wholly in accord with the principles of Marxism and Leninism, and in agreement with your own. We consider it absolutely essential that our organization collaborate politically as soon as possible. In this regard we should like to have an official delegation meet with an official committee of your organization before the convention, and if possible also address the convention.

Since the launching of the S.W.L. six months ago, as a result of the expulsion of the left wing from the C.C.F., we have demonstrated not merely the correctness of our principles, but our ability to participate in the leadership of the struggles of the unemployed, viz., the unemployed strike in Toronto's suburban areas. The urgency of organizing the unemployed nationally on a class struggle program, and so prevent them from becoming demoralized and forming the mass basis for a fascist movement in this country, makes the unification of all revolutionary forces imperative. There is similarly an urgent need for the development of the trade union movement toward progressive policies, organization of the poor farmers, etc. For our immediate program on these and other matters, we refer you to our draft program of action, printed in Vol. 2, No. 1 of Socialist Action, our official organ. Although we are only a small organization, we have the nucleus of a national party throughout Canada, and, with our program, look confidently to the future.

The Stalinist movement is rapidly disintegrating. This is particularly true of the U.L.F.T.A., which has always been the backbone of the Communist Party in this coutry. Most of the disillusioned Stalinist workers drop into demoralization and passivity. Many develop into fascists. A bold, principled declaration for the Fourth International on the Ukrainian field would be of decisive significance in this crucial period. It would serve to stimulate the whole language movement in Canada, and have major international repercussions.

We trust that you will discuss this as soon as possible and advise us of your decisions.

Fraternally yours,
Socialist Workers' League of Canada,
H. Kennedy (sgd)
National Secretary

Scarboro Jobless Struggle

(continued from page 1)

the lack of any positive program which could capture the support of the workers it was totally unprepared for the emergency created by the relief cuts.

In fact the Union leadership's first reaction to the workers' spontaneous burst of resentment against the cuts, which demanded immediate strike, was to endeavour to stop or delay action. Under the vigorous leadership of a group of Scarboro Socialist Workers' League comrades the workers were led en masse into the Relief Union where they carried on a militant creditable strike action. A strike action which, altho devoid of violence or disorder, gave the Council, police, engineer and relief department officials a severe headache which they will not be anxious to experience again for a while. With an organized lead to follow, the sincere members of the Union executive joined in the struggle while the remainder faded out of view for the "duration". One notable exception sabotaged so openly that he drew a sharp rebuke from the Union secretary.

Union Strangely Silent

When the strikers, facing actual starvation because of the failure of a promised food supply, voted on May 5th to return to work in an organized manner and under strong protest it was with the expressed determination to carry on the struggle, against the cuts in particular and the manifold injustices of the relief system in general.

Since that date all Union activity has inexplicably ceased. The Strike Committee secretary did call a meeting of that committee a few days after the return to work to lay plans for the continuance of the struggle but was notified by the Union executive that the committee had been dismissed and that the executive would direct from then on. No Union meetings have since been held (altho one was called to hear report of the OFU convention which did not attract any but the executive and the strike leaders) and no organizational work nor membership campaign has been carried on. Thus with the workers on the advance the struggle has been left in the air and the way left clear for official discriminatory vengeance which has not been slow in materializing. Examples of this discrimination already felt are the attempted forcing of men into garbage collection and other work beyond their physical capacities under threat of being struck from the relief roll for refusal; the withdrawal of watchmen from the unemployed's garden plots; the ousting of strike leaders and others from the Unemployed's Garden Committee and from the Engineer's Office where they had put in their "shifts" for the past three years.

Further Cuts Impending

The unemployed workers of Scarboro have not yet succumbed to repression; they still have the will to militant resistance and struggle for their rights. They will back a vigorous leadership that has a positive working class program. Their chief weakness is a lack of solid, well established organization. Whatever the reasons for this lack in the past, the responsibility lies now squarely upon the shoulders of the Union executive because of their arbitrary dismissal of the strike leaders and their own failure to give organizing leadership.

The unemployed of Scarboro and the rest of Ontario face the possibility of further cuts in their relief standard. They can expect nothing else while the mad race for profits and war continues. Their organized resistance is their only bulwark against complete degradation, and that organization must begin at home. For Scarboro the Union must be built into a strong fighting factor.

(continued on page 8)

From Our Correspondents

3rd June, 1939

Editor "Socialist Action"

The tendency to leave everything to a few leaders is very noticeable in the labor movement. Far too many rank and file members who are quite capable of making valuable contributions are quite content to sit back and 'let George do it". It should be clearly seen by, all, both the leadership and the rank and file, that the lowly position we occupy in Society is due to a lack of understanding of the problems with which we are confronted. This lack of understanding is due not, as any assume, to lack of ability to understand, but to lack of interest. Prevalent in the minds of all too many radicals is a belief in the infallibility of leaders amounting to Hero Worship. This is bad both for leaders and rank and file. The leaders are apt to get a rather exaggerated idea of their own importance and become egotistical. This attitude not only encourages apathy among the rank and file, but also leads to severe criticism of many honest and sincere members who show initiative and ability along the lines of independent thought; and many who differ with the ideas—but not the ideals— of the leadership are practically driven from the organization by those who believe in the infallibility of the leadership.

It is regrettable but true that some of those driven out become disgusted and cynical. and are not only lost to the progressive labor movement, but are a gain to those who oppose progress. The need for tolerance and free, frank and open discussion on all matters pretaining to the organization cannot be too often stressed. This is necessary in order that the various questions and problems which constantly arise may be thrashed out and clarified. If we are to make the desired progress we need conviction through understanding, rather than a blind acceptance of Policy. For no matter how intelligent and sincere the leadership may be, they will be able to accomplish very little without an intelligent rank and file. Blind acceptance without intelligent examination leads to bureaucracy. And this gives rise to either resentment in the rank and file, with consequent decrease in membership, or, if accepted, leads to Dictatorship which is the opposite to Democracy.

The closest ties should exist between rank and file members and selected representatives through mutual understanding.

Fraternally Yours
"Anti-Bureaucrat"
Calgary, Alta.

(For comment on this letter see our editorial page).

Clarion on the Skids

(continued from page 1)

breadth of circulation and influence". This is to be done, according to ex-editor T. J. Sims, by changing the "Carrion" into a weekly and transferring it to Winnipeg! The reality leaks out later in Mr. Sims' editorial lamentations. It appears that though the Party has "collected tens of thousand of dollars" from the workers for the paper, this isn't enough, and "to continue publication... would demand undue and unfair sacrifices".

Workers Learn Their Lesson

In plain language this means that the Canadian radical workers, the Ukrainians, and Finns, and Anglo-Saxons, and others who have allowed themselves to be bled by the Stalinist machine under the illusion the CP was still a radical party, have learned their lesson. They are keeping their hands in their pockets, and using their feet to walk out of the camp of Stalinism.

That the collapse of the Clarion does not reflect a reactionary tendency in Canadian labor is shown by the parallel growth of the Socialist Workers League and its organ SOCIALIST ACTION. During the very time the Clarion has been starving to death on its own pro-Empire rations, the Socialist Workers League has been organized, has members in every province from Toronto to the coast, and with this issue publishes the fourth number of the new Action.

Behind the tearful words of Editor Sims lies the reason for the Clarion's decease. "It has been no small factor", he says, "in bringing about the present situation which is characterized by the unprecedented rise of democratic sentiment and action among our people". Keep in mind that Sims means by "democratic sentiment" "capitalist democratic sentiment"—that is, support of the present King government and support of the war preparations of Britain, France, and the U.S.—and this is the straight dope.

Worldwide War Preparations

The Clarion has "been no small factor in bringing about the present situation" which is characterized by worldwide preparations for another imperialist war. It is a war which some Canadian middle-class people, influenced by such pseudo-progressive rags as the Clarion, are now prepared to support. But the workers and farmers of Canada are not yet deluded. And they are demonstrating their hatred of war and their knowledge that there is no working-class democracy in Canada, by withdrawing their support from the Clarion and transferring it to honest labor papers.

Sims is shameless enough to link the jingoist role of the defunct Clarion with the paper which preceded it, the weekly "Worker". Both, he says, consistently fought for the unification of the labor movement". He does not say that the founding editor of the Worker was 'Trotskyist' Maurice Spector, who was expelled for upholding the right of Trotsky and thousands of his Bolshevik followers to be retained within this same 'unity" of the labor movement. Those first days of the Worker were the real days of the revolutionary Canadian press, when the unity fought for was a revolutionary unity, not a unity with Herridge and King and Anthony Eden.

Official Secrets Act Prepares Dictatorship

BY DEGE

A year before the last war Prime Minister Laurier had solemnly declared to the people of Canada that "Parliament would decide" whether Canada would be thrown into the impending slaughter. Yet behind the back of the Canadian people, Laurier was aiding the British and Canadian army general staffs in preparing a War Book. This War Book outlined in advance the nature of Canada's participation in the war. Today, in spite of Prime Minister King's pious promises that "Parliament will decide", a War Book is already being prepared. A great number of technical experts and professionals have received questionnaires intended to give the government all the information necessary to throw Canada into the next war as soon as it breaks out. More open war preparations are included in the Official Secrets Act passed in the last session of Parliament and agreed to by A.A. Heaps (CCF, Winnipeg North) who declared that "every member doubtless approves the legislation in principle." (Windsor Daily Star, May 30, 1939).

A Blow at Labor

This Act is a direct blow at labor and revolutionary socialism. Its sponsors aim to suppress any labor activity, such as strikes, on the pretext that it is contrary to the "interests of the state" and in the interests of a foreign power. In the parliamentary debates of May 31, Lapointe, the Minister of Justice, frankly admits that the Act will be used to prevent individuals from "stirring up class-prejudice". Any strike militant during the war can now be denounced as an agitator in foreign pay and will be prosecuted under the Act.

A key anti-labor provision of the Act is the "prohibited place" — the Cabinet can declare any factory or district a prohibited place, (section 2) making it an offence under the Act for anyone to approach, pass over, or be in the neighborhood for any purpose prejudicial to the state (section3). Furthermore "no person.... shall obstruct..... any police officer or any member of His Majesty's forces" (section 6) on duty at this prohibited place. Thus by a mere declaration of the Cabinet any strike bound factory can now be designated as a 'prohibited place" under the Act and every picket around the place can be arrested. Section 2 of the Act already delcares the following places to be prohibited "any work of defence belonging to .....or used on behalf of His Majesty including ..... factories, mines etc. Woe betide a minor who as much as whispers the word strike during the war!

No Proof Needed

A second key anti-labor provision is " a purpose prejudicial to the safety and interests of the state". The clause concerned here (section 3) specifies that absolutely no proof of espionage is necessary in order to get a conviction as long as the R.C.M.P. can convince the court that the accused was carrying on activity contrary to the interests of the state. This section is so obviously vague and indefinite, so glaringly a weapon to be used against strike leaders and pickets, so clearly a grant of authoritarian powers to the police and the courts, that it deserves quotation in full. "It shall not (our emphasis) be necessary to show that the accused person was guilty of any particular act tending to show a purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the state, and, notwithstanding that no such act is proved against him, he may be convicted if from the circumstances of the case .....it appears (our emphasis) that his purpose was a purpose prejudicia to the safety and interests of the state". On a mere suspicion strike leaders may now be imprisoned; the court need only invoke the magic formula "a purpose prejudicial to the interests of the state" and anyone involved in a strike at a place arbitrarily declared by the government to be "prohibited" can be imprisoned for a maximum of seven years.

Section 98 Revived

The Act smuggles in some of the most dangerous anti-labor clauses of Section 98, which was repealed a few years ago. Where certain officers of the R.C.M.P. suspect that an offence under the Act has been or will be committed, they may, if they think the case to be one "of great urgency" issue a search warrant. In other words, the R.C.M.P. will be able to search homes and offices at will, which power the repeal of Section 98 so recently removed from their hands. The R.C.M.P. can ransack union records for the benefit of the bosses any time they please, thereby crippling union activity.

In fact, Section 98 is child's play compared to the new Act, section 13 of which provides for secret trials, a procedure that the bosses never dared put in section 98. As in all the above anti-labor sections, wherever the police think that publicity for the whole trial would be "prejudicial to the interests of the state", then the courts may exclude the public completely.

In short, while the Official Secrets Act is ostensibly directed against foreign spies in Canada, it contains numerous clauses that can and will be used to suppress the unions when, during the war, they struggle for better wages and working conditions. The bosses intend to treat spies and native labor militants in the same summary manner — quick arrest, speedy secret trial and a long jail term.

Stranglers of Veterans' Struggle

(continued from page 4)

with the help of traitors will do the same as they did in Germany and hinder the revolutionary proletariat from the final capture of power."

Comrade Gustav, Germany, said: "Through Hitler coming to power large sections of war veterans went over to social democratic organizations because of the shameful action of the leaders, some of which took an oath of allegiance to Fascism and the Hitler flag in Berlin. When Fascism broke out in Germany we had a situation where the working class was absolutely prepared to fight it. The reformist leaders of the miners' union were forced to admit that the miners were prepared and ready for the struggle. These social democrats explained their betrayal of the working class by saying that the communists had likewise failed the workers. The reformist leaders forced the workers into passivity and the communist party wanted majority control before it would take up the struggle."

These excerpts will give some idea of the militant nature of the organization wrecked by Stalinism. Next issue, I will conclude the review of the international organization with the publication of a letter from the Livna Central Blackearth Region, USSR, Artel No. 130, and then deal with the dismemberment of the League in Canada.

SCARBORO JOBLESS STRUGGLE

(continued from page 7)

They must go forward from the fine beginning made on April 3rd until the impetus generated here will have spread thru Canada's million unemployed. For this they must solidly unite and fight for a positive program which will include these minimum demands:

1. Relief rates to be increased to 50% above Campbell report. (Ontario Medical Association minimum subsistance allowance).
2. Cash Relief for at least Food and Clothing.
3. Abolition of Relief labor on all Municipal Maintenance and Construction.
4. A Federal program of Public Works at trade union rates of wages and union hours.
5. Federal non-contributory unemployment insurance.
6. All Federal War Funds to be diverted to the unemployed.
7. Affiliation of all Unemployed Unions to the Trade Union movement.

FOR LABOR CANDIDATES AGAINST BOSSES!

Socialist Action

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

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TAMMANY HALL POLITICIANS IN WINDSOR

C.C.F., C.P. Silent As Croll Hits At Unemployed

(Special to Socialist Action)

Windsor, Ont: At the civic elections in December of last year, Dave Croll, Liberal M.P., seeking to be elected mayor of Windsor, donned his overalls once again, to pose as "the friend of labour". Through the Labour Representation Committee, he managed to get the support of the labour groups. The platform of the campaign was prepared by this L.R.C and Croll's machine, under an agreement to elect a "labour administration".

As was to be expected, the platform, designed to suit Croll, capitalist leader of this Popular Front, was so watered-down, that even if carried out 100%, it could benefit the workers little. But even with this wishy-washy program, the City of Windsor actually did elect a "labour majority" in the city administration.

The labour group consisted of: three C.C.F. members and two Stalinists on the City council, and two C.C.F.'ers on the board of control. Counting in Dave Croll as Mayor this gave a total of eight, a majority for the labour group, as the city adminisration consists of fifteen members.

"Labor" Leaders Flunk

The Windsor workers naturally expected their labour representatives to fight for their interests, and force Croll to support them. If he refused to do so, it was the duty of the labour group to expose him. Instead, the C.C.F. and C.P. council members have allowed themselves to be used to carry out Croll's anti-labour policies

Croll has already come out openly against the unemployed with the cutting of all single men from the relief rolls by the Welfare Department. Not a peep of protest came from the C.P. alderman Reg. Morris who also chloroformed the opposition which Ald. Raycraft, also of the C.P., wished to put up. The single unemployed are driven to panhandling and little illegal rackets by the Croll do-nothing policy. When they sought to hire a hall to hold a

(continued on page 7)

SHARPENING CRISIS CRACKS OLD TWO PARTY SYSTEM

COMING ELECTIONS SHOW NEED FOR INDEPENDENT ACTION BY WORKERS, FARMERS

Canadian political alingnments have been undergoing decided shifts since the last general elections. The Conservative Party lost its majority in 1935 because it was unable to solve the problems thrown up by a decaying capitalist system. Unemployment in the east and starvation in the west continued to grind the workers and farmers down. The Stevens' Reconstructionists, a Tory splinter, foresaw the demise of the Conservatives as a force in the west and tried to capture the new radical sentiment stimulated by the depression years.

They appealed to the "greenback" sentiment on the prairies and the sense of frustration of the middle-class in the face of the big monopoly interests. The Reconstructionists offered to lead capitalism out of crisis by introducing cheaper money, easier credit, and by breaking the trusts.

Panaceas Fail

In essence the whole program of the Recontructionists has now been tested in Alberta, Canada's political laboratory. Cheaper money, or inflation, as the Social Credit fakers have now conclusively demonstrated, can do nothing to alleviate the crisis.

But Stevens was a sign of the times The permanent crisis into which capitalism fell in 1929 cracked the two-party system. The unemployed, the slave-driven workers and debt-ridden farmers demanded something more concrete than the old meaningless phrases. Bennett's last minute New Deal hoodwinked no one but the Conservatives themselves.

Capitalist Parties Disintegrate

After four and half years of the Liberals the rents in the old capitalist parties are tearing wider apart than ever. The bosses themselves are losing faith in the ability of their old political parties to hold the discontented masses in check at a minimum of expenditures for social services. Thus, when to save his political hide, King was forced to yield pitiably low fixed wheat prices, the multi-millionaire mining barons got into a huff and organized the Leadership League. They sponsored this League in an attempt to elect candidates regardless of party faith who would support their progam of "efficient government", that is, low

(continued on page 3)

"TEN-CENT" CROLL
Rooks Windsor single jobless

Finnish Militants Fed Up With C.P.

STEELDALE, SASK. PICNIC REVEALS DISILLUSIONMENT

Wiseton, Sask. — During the summer months community picnics play a far larger role in rural social and political life than most eastern city folk perhaps appreciate. The nature of the picnics and the manner of their conduct are reliable political barometers.

I atended one a few days ago at Steeldale, Sask., center of a district predominantly populated by Finnish people. To the uninitiated, it was just another picnic—sports, baseball, ice cream, weiners, a political speech and dancing. But to those of us who knew Steeldale but a few years ago as a hive of militant revolutionary activity, it was more than a picnic. It was a living picture of the demoralization and destruction caused by Stalinism, the abandonment of revolutionary for reformist and nationalist perspectives.

(continued on page 4)

S.W.L. Prairie Victory

By Socialist Action Farm Correspondent

Wiseton, Sask. — Bright, snappy agitation by a member of SWL, Wiseton Branch, has wrested a total of about $500 from the Monette Municipal Council for several local farmers needing gas to complete their summer fallow.

Previous to the establishing of the SWL here, some 5 weeks ago ond previous to the consequent agitation, the council had flatly refused money for gas.

Plans covering two municipalities are being pushed by the Wiseton S.W.L'ers to obtain from the municipalities, grants to cover harvesting costs and maximum exemptions from the infamous cropseizure-for taxes. Bill 90.

C.C.F. Convention In B.C. Marked By Political Confusion

Right Wing Strengthens Organizational Grip

According to the "New Commonwealth", July 13, the recent Vancouver conference of the British Columbia CCF resulted in a "strengthening of the organization and a

(continued on page 5)

A PRAIRIE LETTER

PLIGHT OF WESTERN YOUTH PREPARES SOIL FOR FASCISM

BY CARL HICHIN

Thousands of miles travelled over the prairies this summer have convinced this writer, that the soil for a fascist movement has been prepared far more than most will care to believe. And nowhere is it more so than in the diocese of Premier Aberhart, chosen of God and Imperial Oil; sanctified by Buck and annointed by Herridge.

Stalinist results

Obersvation on the prairies reveals that the jingoistic "foreign fascist spy" scare raised by those "dime detective" sleuths, Messrs Tim Buck and Fred Rose, has served:

(a) to engender social-patriotic hatred of the German, Japanese and and Italian peoples and to raise dangerous barriers between different "national sections of Canadian toilers.

(b) to blind Canadian toilers to "domestic" homegrown reaction; to make them forget that wheat can only be grown in soil containing the elements in wheat, and that this is equally true of fascism.

Elements in the Prairie Soil

Take Alberta. Decaying agrarian economy has driven thousands of young men and women from the farmsteads of their parents. Years ago, on reaching adult age these would have received from their parents a quarter-section of land as a "start-in-life". For some years this has been out of the question. Wheat acreage has been reduced. Farms have been deserted and permitted to 'go-back' to prairie-wool and weeds.

Denied land, denied all hope of a living in the country and driven from home, over 20,000 of Alberta's youth have flocked to Edmonton and Calgary since 1931 in search of non-existent jobs. They have turned to the relief rolls. But in Calgary these were, and still are closed to able-bodied young men. They have turned to the unemployed organizations. But these had either been liquidated or sterilized since "communist" party heads had termed Mr Aberhart" progressive" and had decreed that Alberta labor and jobless must therefore adopt a "non-embarassment" policy toward the very Aberhartian government that was destroying the youth.

Even Danger in the Unions' Attitude

Some of the farm youth turned to the skilled trades. These were organized. The unions rebuffed the youths and actually made enemies of some. The unions themselves were sterilized and unable to fight for shorter hours to spread the work because their old guard leaders and their newer C.P. of C. challengers were engrossed in a destructive fight for control — a fight totally removed from trade union slogans.

Some of the luckless youth even sought out the 'Young Communist League' only to find it in the front pew singing loud Hosanna's as Holy Bill Aberhart broadcast his regular Sunday prophecies.

Nor did the C.C.F. satisfy. It was busy, as again in Calgary quite recently, expelling those militants desirous of participating in the "every-day" struggle of the jobless.

Fate of the Youth

Denied relief a few of the homeless and penniless youth took to petty thievery. — in Calgary, homeowners in the tonier districts maintin their own prvaite police force! The majority however were forced to become itinerant beggars, driven from round-house to flop-house; doomed to demoralization by "progressive democratic" capitalism.

The lot of the girls has been no less bitter. Wages for domestic srvice and cafe help in Calgary are the lowest west of Quebec and so is the "price" on 6th Avenue, site of the largest organized traffic in prostitution west of Montreal. This almost within sight of Aberhart's "prophetic Bible temple"!

Seed of Fascism

Clarion lies to the contrary, for thousands of Alberta youths uprooted from the land, there is today and has been for years, brutal hardship unequalled since the great land enclosures in Europe which led to peasant revolts.

Those hundreds who escaped this fate, have no brighter outlook. They have been shipped back to the country to work upwards of 14 hours a day on farms for $5 per month!

Is it any wonder then that in box car, round-house, flop-house and cheap cafe, this writer himself during this summer has heard scores saying: "To hell with the lot of them. They're all the bloody same. What this country needs is a god damned Hitler".

True, these are just a minority, but a dangerous one. Fortunately, there is still a vast majority longing for a militant labor fight for "bed and eats". Fortunately, too, wherever the Socialist Workers' League is articulate and active the cordial reception given its organizers is highly encouraging.

This is the background against which the daily news of the west must be interpreted. Out here, an embracing of the Buck-Herridge-Aberhart version of Stalinized "progressive democracy" can only fertilize the ground for increased fascist sympathy by spreading dissillusionment.

Today it is not a race between "democracy" and fascism. It is a race between the socialist revolution and fascism. It is a race between the 4th International and all forms of reaction, reformism, and centrism.

On the S.W.L. enormous organizational tasks are laid. To those militants expelled from the C.C.F. who would tend to take a centrist position, there is a distinct challenge:—

Lack of revolutionary activity, failure to raise the needs of the jobless in a militant manner, failure to build progressive blocks in the trade unions, failure to point and lead to the socialist revolution and failure to build a revolutionary vanguard will leave the buffeted youth of the west open to approach by those intent on a yet more brutal form of capitalism here in Canada—fascism.

Stalin Oppresses Minorities

Canadian Finns Migrate En Masse From Soviet Karelia

Sudbury, Ont. — Shortly before it expired as a daily, the Clarion published an innocent-appearing article by Tom Ewen, entitled "Socialist Builders in Soviet Karelia". The best part of a whole page is taken up with an attempt to explain the Stalinist position on minorities, based on the difficulties of the Soviet government with the Finnish peoples. It records the unhappy fact that many skilled workers who migrated to Soviet Karelia between 1930-34 have now returned to Canada and the United States. It explains this mass departure as follows:

"It is only natural that such sabotage (of nationalist and Trotskyists elements who "wormed their way into leading positions") should react with bad effects upon all highly-skilled Canadian workers who sincerely sought to aid in the building of Socialism in Soviet Karelia, and render their contributions ineffective (Ewen cautions that "it would hardly be correct to state that all the Finns that have returned to Canada from Karelia fall into this Trotskyite category" but "in many cases the work of the nationalist-Trotskyite-fascist gangs determined their line of choice" (of returning to Canada).

"Irrevocable" Socialism" Fragile

How can one explain a mass re-emigration to Canada to the "temporary fleshpots of a decandent system" as Ewen declares? Why should an entire group of highly-skilled Finnish technicians leave the land where "socialism has been irrevocably established" since the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International? Ewen tries to explain this away as the work of a small, discredited group of "Trotsky-fascists". But it must be a peculiarly fragile type of socialism which can be so deeply shaken by this thrice-laid ghost of Trotskyism!

The answer is unwittingly given by Ewen in the same article when he quotes a high Stalinist functionary of Karelia, Gorbachov, as follows:

"In our schools, institutions and peoples' courts, the Finnish nationalists instilled the Finnish language, and ignored the Russian language, the language of the Socialist Revolution."

Self-Determination

Here, in one short sentence, is simply and vividly described the policy of Stalinism towards national minorities. Here is the answer to the question: Why this discontent among the minorities in the Soviet Union and in the language sections of the comintern? The policy of imposing the Russian tongue, Russian customs, the barbarian culture of Stalinist absolutism, differs not one whit from the Czarist oppression of national minorities. Was Russian the language of the Socialist Revolution? Not at all. It was only one language of many. The innumerable nationalities oppressed by the Czar rallied to the socialist revolution in 1917, because they understood that revolution to be theirs, just as did all the bolshevik leaders in 1917, now dead, assassinated or in exile. Lenin's policy was freedom and self-determination, for all nationalities, which meant full rights to their own language, culture, and complete national autonomy. The policy of Stalin, liquidator of the revolution, is the exact reverse. The policy of the bolsheviks who triumphed in 1917, and who have since been liquidated, is now branded by Stalinism as "nationalist-Trotskyite-fascism."

Disintegration Ensues

If rightist groupings are developing within the Stalinist organizations, then it is directly the result of the utter disillusionment with Stalinism, which many workers mistakenly identify with socialism. The Stalinist movement is rapidly disintegrating. The setback of the Clarion to a weekly is proof-positive of this.

The Fourth International must intervene in such a way as to steer this movement into the healthy direction of revolutionary socialism. Otherwise this disillusionment may go in an opposite direction, towards fascism and counter-revolution . In line with this, the Socialist Workers' League of Canada, welcomes discussion with other groups on problems of minorities, particularly as they relate to the Soviet Union.

—By JamesWest

INDEPENDENT POLITICS BY WORKERS, FARMERS

(continued from page 1)
unemployment relief, no fixed prices for wheat and military camps for youths.

These mining magnates are of the same gang that stretches out a friendly claw to the Hepburn-Duplessis axis. This new interprovincial alignment threatens to destroy the Lib. Party in the East but the bosses are not the least bit alarmed, for Hepburn and Duplessis are their willing tools.

Bosses Want New Party

In other words the bosses can read the handwriting on the wall. They realize that days of intensified class struggle have come. If it is in their interests, they are the first to disregard old party divisions. The bosses have no party loyalties; party symbols and fetishes are merely an easy means of deceiving the people. The bosses hold an unbounded loyalty to one thing alone —money, profits. Already the Montreal Gazette, mouthpiece of Canadian finance capital, has issued the call for the "regrouping of Liberal and Conservative members" to "constitute a national party" with the object of 'dominating parliament" (Gazette July 22). But whatever differences these new groupings have or will have among themselves, they are unanimous in what they offer....

WHETHER THEY HAPPEN to support railway amalgamation or public works schemes or promise cheap money, they are all agreed on one plank — **they are all for war.** Not one of them lets out so much as a peep against the new imperialist war that is brewing. All of them including Herridge's New Democracy movement are capitalist parties touched up with a little bright paint.

C.P. — C.C.F. Support War

And on the tail of these war mongers follow the CCF and Communist Party. In the debates in parliament on March 30 Woodsworth made no clear cut statement in opposition to Canada's participation in the next war. Read the debates carefully and this deliberate omission by Woodsworth cries out. His pseudo-radicalism carried him only to the point of speaking against the kind of conscription which omitted to conscript wealth as well as men for war. The Communist Party, an open advocate of a "democratic" war, lashed at King because he failed to declare his warlike intentions soon enough or strong enough to suit them.

In other words, in spite of the shiftings in the political scene under the pressure of the economic crisis, not one of the parties offers a genuine anti-war program. It is time to ask what we propose

We propose, that the workers and farmers break through the old party lines and show their political independence by voting for independent labor-farmer candidates. The bosses are prepared to destroy any old line party if it is in their class interest, similarly the workers and farmers to be true to their own class interests must strike out a new path, the path of independent political action. This is what we mean by independent working-class politics.

C.P. Supports Capitalists

The Communist party uses this genuine sentiment on the part of the workers, for independent political action, as the basis of a policy that will lead the working class up a blind alley and destroy its class solidarity. Tim Buck, writing for the Communist Party, declares that "it will be necessary in many places for the working class movement to express its political independence by calculated united support to non-working-class candidates" (Clarion Weekly, July 8).

Support of capitalist candidates, called "non-working-class candidates" to make the idea more palatable, **is not** independent political action for workers and farmers. It is the same old policy that has helped bring the workers and farmers to their present impasse. Wherever they have supported capitalist candidates, the workers and farmers have lost out. The cards were stacked against them from the beginning.

For Labor Candidates

No more playing at capitalist politics. If the Communist Party wishes to rub noses with "non-working-class" candidates, it is their privilege. The workers and farmers have a fighting chance only if they nominate and vote for their own candidates.

We propose that labor and farmer candidates throw all vague promises in the rubbish heap. The candidates must be bound down to concrete commitments that will leave no doubts in anyone's mind as to what they mean. We must demand that they fight for vast public works at trade union rates of wages, the transfer of all war funds to the unemployed and such other steps as will result in a material gain for the workers and farmers. (See Program of Action of SWL, **Socialist Action**, March 20) Candidates who do not fight for such a program cannot seriously claim to represent the needs of the workers and farmers.

Coming issues of Socialist Action will deal more fully with the problem of a program for workers and farmers candidates. Ed

The Worker's Angle

By Robertson

Canadian Army officials following the lead of their British colleagues in the art of butchery are beginning to talk again about the "attractiveness" of army life. It is true that the worker who is unemployed or living on starvation wages for long and monotonous hours of work may sometimes look with some envy on the regularly paid and fed peace-time soldier. Then war will probably mean, for the Canadian army a chance to "see" other countries, get away from the toubles and monotony of family life, to savor strange wines and strange ladies.

* * * *

Before we offer our foot-arches for inspection to the army doctors however, we'd better think back on what happened to the boys who got a chance in 1914 to "see the world". Well, it's true of course that "only" one of every ten Canadians was killed outright. But another one in each ten died soon after leaving eight. And four of those eight were wounded gassed, shellshocked, or injured in some way. Of course, they got "pensions". Yes, but it's funny how many disabled panhandlers one can see on a city street, with service badges on their frayed coats. And the next war, which has already cost as much (before it has begun) as the first three years of fighting in the last one may leave us so broke, even if our bosses win, that pensions may be scaled down to something like what the British Tommies got.

* * * * *

They got lots of course, those British soldiers—if they were generals. Guy Aldred, Scotch anarchist now publishing a monthly called "The Word", prints in his June issue the scale of war pensions doled out by the grateful capitalists. Generals got, in addition to many pounds weekly for the rest of their lives,fat cash grants, [illegible]ied them from the public [illegible] money by means of a "financial honors list". Here are some tidbits from the list:

Admiral Beatty and Marshall Haig $500,000 each; Admiral Jellicoe, Marshalls French and Allenby $250,000 each; Viscount Byng, Marshall Plumer and 2 mere Generals $150,000 each; Lt Col. Hankey (what did he do?) $125,000 9 assorted admirals, marshalls, generals, and commanders 50,000 each.

Nearly $3 million in straight cash to 19 brass hats most of whom did not get even a scratch.

* * * *

And now here are some items to place beside this, extracts from the pension scale for the ordinary working-stiff who did the fighting bleeding but didn't quite get killed No cash.. bonuses here, just a weekly dole:

For permanent total disablement (blindness, madness, paralysis) $10. a week; loss of right arm at shoulder $9; loss of leg or power of speech $8; loss of left arm, nearly all leg, or hearing $7; loss of half-leg, or most of left arm $6; loss of less than half-leg, or one eye $5; loss of toes, if above knuckles $4.50; loss of right thumb, or 4 fingers $4; loss of left thumb, or 4 fingers $3; loss of any fingers, or toes below knuckles $2.

—And today Chamberlain conscripts a new army of young workers whose eyes and legs and toes may, if Chamberlain's gang aren't too poor at the end, be bought with equal coldbloodness for a couple of bucks a week.

* * * * *

This doesn't prevent the British Stalinites from getting busy to boost the New Conscription. For a while they pretended to be against it but, after being taken to task for their lack of patriotism by the French Stalinites, they have come out with a big campaign for—"Cigarettes for Our Conscripts". On May 27th the London Daily Worker shouts: "Keep in touch with the boys, send them cigarettes, books and papers... In this way the comradeship between the conscript army will be strengthened and the [illegible] the reactionaries rendered more difficult". Soon these social-patriots will be knitting sox again and running to the military police to report "reactionaries" —the latter being apparently anyone who would encourage the boys to remain discontented with life and the prospects of life in a conscript army.

* * * * *

In Australia too the Stalinites are the flunkies for the recruiting sergeants, while it is the Fourth Internationalists (the Communist League) who sound the call, through their monthly organ "The Militant", for working-class resistance to imperialism. The bosses have introduced a "National Register Bill" as a way of sneaking up on Conscription. Militants have been organizing a mass boycott of the registry, and the move has won the backing of the important Australian Council of Trade Unions. The registry forms will not be filled in; the workers will hand them to their shop delegates for burning.

Streamstown, Alta.

Dear Editor,

Not many seem to have thought what will happen if the Herridge combine proves to be a flop at the elections, as now seems probable.

One thing is sure. There would be such a demoralization among the Canadian followers of Stalin that the whole labor movement will be adversely effected unless the real revolutionist forces in Canada are fully prepared to act boldly.

Let us all prepare now against the possibility of a Buck-, Herridge-, Aberhart crash bringing reaction into labor ranks.

Eli D———

Pageant Of Empire

The Sun Never Sets On Britain's 400 Million Slaves

There can be no doubt that the royal visit was a great success in whipping up popular feeling for "the dear old Empire" and hitching Canada more closely to the war chariot of Britannia. Thousands forgot, in their cheering for the royal tourists — if indeed they ever knew— that behind the glittering facade and the sonorous phrases about the "commonwealth" lies a slave empire in which every aspect of Nazi brutality and repression can be matched case for case. In the "non-self-governing" sections of the Empire, that is, those run directly in the interests of British capitalists instead of the native variety, political democracy and freedom of speech are practically nonexistent, workers' organizations are suppressed, the right of free assembly is denied, political prisoners are held without charge or trial for long periods, often in concentration camps, forced labor is imposed on the natives, and non-Aryan races are consistently treated as subhuman.

400,000,000 Slaves

There are at least four hundred million people in the Empire "on which the sun never sets". Of these only one fifth enjoy the much-vaunted rights of capitalist democracy. The other four fifths are not given the privilege of selecting the particular crowd of oppressors that will run the country on behalf of the capitalists for four or five years. The limited formal rights accorded to the Indian masses within recent years are a farce. Even when the new constitution becomes completely operative, the native government will have absolutely no control over foreign policy and the army. The Viceroy has the power, which he frequently exercises, of vetoing any act of the Legislative Assembly. Millions of negroes in British Africa and the West Indies have no political rights whatsoever.

Unknown Luxuries

Freedom of speech and press are unknown luxuries in Britain's far flung colonial empire. In India, before a newspaper can be published, a large deposit must be placed in the hands of the British authorities, which is immediately confiscated if anything objectionable appears. This must be renewed immediately. Under these circumstances only wealthy interests can start a newspaper in the first place, and they will never dare criticize the government. Every section of the colonial empire has similarly strict press laws. In Trinidad recently the editor of the "Sunday Chronicle" was prosecuted for publishing a letter from an ex-civil-servant, which the powers-that-be considered derogatory to the service. Freedom of speech is in the same boat. Everywhere there are Sedition Laws, rigidly applied. In India especially, where seething opposition underneath has created almost a permanent "state of emergency", the number of natives imprisoned for allegedly seditious speeches in recent years is impossible to estimate.

Imperilaism's Iron Heel

Aggressive working class organizations in the colonies soon feel the iron heel of imperialism in their necks. India has a special law under which the Governor has power to declare any organization illegal. Trade unions and other working class organizations have fallen under this ban. In recent years Workers Associations in East Africa and West Africa have been ruthlessly suppressed. A recent concession, the result of militant struggle by the Trinidad workers against sub human conditions, allows trade unions to exist, but only under government supervision, as in fascist nations.

Freedom of assembly is subject to constant interference in Britain's col onial empire. For two years the Nationalist Congress, representing millions of Indians, was not allowed to hold its annual convention. One year it staged a "sitdown" in one of Calcutta's busiest streets, snapped through a bunch of resolutions, and then dispersed under blows of police clubs. Both India and Africa have laws, applied at the least threat of resistance, prohibiting meetings of more than five persons for any purpose whatever. Permits have even had to be obtained for five persons to attend a wedding or a funeral.

Jailed Without Trail

Thousands of political prisoners especially in India have been arrested and imprisoned without charges or trial. All the well-known figures of the Indian Congress, such as Ghandi, Nehru, Roy etc. have been held in this way. The old Mahatma is constantly negotiating now for the release of younger men, arrested in this fashion. Some of them have been held from three to five years in concentration camps.

Forced labor is a regular feature of life for the natives in all the African colonies. When they are paid for this, it is a mere pittance. In many cases they are not paid at all. The enforced labor period runs as high as 270 days per year, which is the rule in Kenya colony. In the matter of racial discriminations the British can still teach Adolf Hitler plenty of lessons. Natives of the colonies have ever since the earliest slave trade era, been treated as something less than human. In South Africa the natives are segregated in reserves, forced by heavy taxation to move to the cities and provide cheap labor for the mines. If they attempt to run away, they are arrested and returned to their bosses. This is made possible by the Pass Laws which compel the black worker walking on the streets of any industrial city of South Africa to carry a pass showing that he is employed by some white capitalist. There are no less than twelve different kinds of passes which these workers are compelled to have at some time or other.

Behind the Mask

In the face of conditions like these, is it any wonder that Goebbels screams and raves at British hypocricy. Occasionally the mask is taken off, and we get refreshingly frank statements like the following from the late Lord Brentford, Home Secretary from 1924—29. 'We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall keep it".

This is the ugly reality behind the nonsense we have been handed in recent weeks about the "free association of nations" under the British flag, for which we shall soon be asked to lay down our lives. We reply "Down with all capitalist imperialism, whether its bloodsoaked exploitation and hypocrisy flourishes under the British flag or any other". Our answer is the fighting unity of the oppressed of every race and nation, which shall overthrow the whole rotten system of imperialism and found a real commonwealth of nations under the banner of the international socialist revolution.

Finn Militants Look For New Leadership

(continued from page 1)

Old Militancy Gone

Instead of the red flag on the gate, there was the Union Jack. Instead of the "Internationale", there was "O Canada" and "God Save the King." Instead of a militant speaker rousing the farmers to action, there was a CCF MLA doping the farmers to sleep, making the definite promise that the "people can change the system at the next election if they vote the right way."

I missed the old militant leaders and their rousing speakers. Where those leaders now are, I'll tell later. It will explain, despite Mr. Fred Rose's asertions to the contrary, why the CP of C is losing members galore, in whole branches.

Leaders Missing

By way of starting an enquiry as to what had become of the old leaders, I asked if any CP of C speakers still come to the Steeldale Hall.

"No," was the firm answer. "They have nothing to say now." Then slowly the story was told of how some of the finest militants these prairies have known, had been induced by one lying story or another, sometimes stories of glorious conditions in the USSR, to go to the USSR. there to be clapped in jail. I was given several cases and names of Canadian-Finnish farmers I had personally known.

In G.P.U. Jails

They don't make 'em any finer than Arvid Lahti. He was one that was induced to go to the land of "irrevocable socialism". Now Arvid is in one of Stalin's jails. Belief here is, the GPU killed his wife. In the Soviet Union she had a minor, very minor injury to her heel. One night she appeared OK. The next morning she was dead. Her husband was not called or notified until several hours after her death altho' he was quite close to the hospital. As stated, Arvid is now in jail.

Emil Westa, too, went over there. Emil, a good militant is also in one of Stalin's GPU jails. So are Marquis Kallin and August Antilla, two others from this district. On her way back to Canada right now is a young girl rescued from a similar fate by the British Embassy in Moscow, who was outraged at the treatment meted out by Stalin. The fate of many, many others is unknown.

Finns Disillusioned

Mr. Editor, you have promised to expose how the GPU works in Canada. You don't need to tell the Finns in Saskatchewan. They know. Their friends and sons are in GPU jails. The Finnish militant movement in Saskatchewan has been beheaded. It is the same elsewhere, I was told.

Is it any wonder that some have become discouraged? Is it any wonder that CP of C. Farmers Unity League and CLDL stickers have been ripped off the walls of the Steeldale Finn Hall and that some of the people have turned to the CCF and worse.

But also is it any wonder that more and more of the Finns are turning to the Fourth International—for despite all, two pictures of Lenin hang, inviolate, in the hall at Steeldale to this day.

Some of these Finns, of course, have escaped or got out of the Soviet Union and returned to Canada. Tim Buck can't lie to them! Nor can the defunct Daily Clarion.

One Who Got Back

One who got back is V. (Slim) Suomela. He was a Steeldale farmer, too. Often he and I spoke on the same platform. Recently I received the following letter from him:

———— ————, Ont.

Mr. James Seward
Wiseton, Sask.

Dear Comrade:

I just received your welcomed letter and sure was glad to hear from you.

Do you know that I had the idea and I often said to wife that I'll bet my last shirt that James Seward nor ———— ———— are not followers of Joe Stalin any more. (Holy Joe is right). Now I know that you are not. I have not heard anything from ——J ———— but I have

feeling that any men with your brains will see where Joe is heading.

You were anxious to know how I liked in Soviet Union.

Firstly, we classify people in three different groups.

Telling Lies

There is one group who thinks that tellin the truth about Soviet Union is agitation against socialism as S.U.suppose to be socialistic country.

The group is telling lies and will tell anything that would benefit S. Union. Is this right, or is it wrong? I cannot tell.

Second group will not tell anything about the country, as they do not want to tell lies and think that they do good service for socialism by keeping quiet.

Third group is thinking that truth of the actual conditions will leak out from that country and by keeping quiet about it, it will do injustice to socialism, as the country and the system there is drifting away from socialism right along, and this group is coming out with the facts.

I cannot judge, who is right, and I am myself doing all these three, depending what is the subject.

You know:

That—in S. Union they have abolish the so-called private ownership of the industries;

That—all the land belongs to the state;

That—all the natural wealth belongs to state;

That—all the health services are controlled by the state;

That—all the schools are operated by the state;

That—all the war supplies and industries which are curses of all capitalist countries are controlled by the state.

These, and many others are certainly a sign of the socialistic state

Is that so

But,

Is a small word but it means a lot.

How are these controlled? As you said:

By The Holy Joe.

And that wipes out the meaning of the socialism.

After the revolution, the whole country were runned by the trade union and soviets.

Now Holy Joe has taken all the powers away from these bodies, so completely that they can't even elect their own officers in their union but they are always appointed from higher ups.

There is, and you can see that the very day you land in that country, a two "class" of people:

The "class" who does all the useful work, and the "class" who looks after that worker does his work.

There is now about 50 per cent above or first men (here comes undecipherable word — Ed.), and 50 per cent parasites.

Worker gets less wages, poorer homes, less to eat, works hard to get it.

The boss "class", one who is loyal to Holy Joe, gets better things of life without working.

Thousands Shot

No doubt, you will have followed the trials in Moscow. That only a part of it. Thousands of workers are shot without trial, hundreds of thousands send to prison camps without trial or any evidence.

Unbelievable—but true.

What freedom we have in Holy Joe's land?

Freedom of press—No.

Freedom of speech—No.

Freedom of assembly—No.

Freedom to strike—No — punishable by death.

You are told what to eat, where to work, what to say, what to read, where to live, where to go, what to think and how often to say Our Beloved, Very Dear Comrade Joe Stalin (only God in Soviet Union).

If that's a socialism, I don't want any of it. If that's communism, I hope we never get any of it in Canada.

Living Conditions

As living conditions in the USSR: it is very bad but is not important as the other things of the life, such as freedom and so on.

Well, Jim, I hope to meet you some time yet before one of us will croak off. I always remember your sharp ways of showing the people the wrongs in the capitalistic system. My ideas are still the same about this system and will never change. I hope to see the time when everybody could see the injustice in both as well as in the "Soviet" and in the capitalistic system.

Hoping that you and your family are fine and that you would get good bumper crop this year I will bid you good-bye.

Comradely,

V. Suomela

Yes. Despite everything, the C.P'ers have not succeeded in removing the two pictures of Lenin that hang in the Finnish Hall.

Comradely greetings,

James T. Seward

B.C.—C.C.F. IN CONVENTION

(continued from page 1)

clarification of its position on party and public affairs." The actual decisions of the conference tell a somewhat different story.

Certain minor resolutions of a progressive character were indeed passed. The B.C. paty, only section of the CCF with anything approaching a mass basis, has come (rather late) to realize that it must contest municipal elections, as well as provincial, on a straight party basis. The case of the Nanaimo Club, which has been deprived of its charter for alleged "radicalism", was reopened and a rehearing ordered, against the wishes of the executive. The usual resolutions were passed asking "the provincial government" to assume all educational costs and tax industry for added expenditures; "the government" was asked to increase old age and mothers' pensions and to open the doors "to a reasonable quota of refugees."

But these mild and apologetically-worded resolutions must be balanced against the main decisions of the conference, which represents a victory for the right-wing burocracy.

Politically the conference showed little of the "clarity" described by the CCF press. A motion for an "independent working class embargo" on arms was passed, but for application only to "aggressor nations". Just how the "aggressor" is to be determined in, say, a war between Britain and Germany, was not indicated in the resolution. Again, the conference recommended a national referendum before war, but also, following the "double-talk" of the national leadership, agreed that "wealth should be conscripted **before** men". Such a policy is, of course, not, as the Commonwealth makes out, an "anti-conscription" policy, it is simply

(continued on page 8)

ACROSS THE LINE

The American Scene

—By Blake Lear—

Amid the clamor of the war preparations the voice of the Socialist Workers' Party rang out at its anti-war convention last month in revolutionay opposition to imperialist war.

Basing itself upon the political resolution analyzing the war crisis the convention reviewed the recent past of our party existence, cast a balance, and projected the future.

The preparation, political and technical, of the party for war was one of the most important points on the agenda. The tidal wave of patriotism which will sweep the country was analyzed at length, parallels with the last war being drawn. How the party comrades are to keep their heads above water until disillusion becomes widespread, how they are to maintain themselves within the mass movement was indicated as much as that is possible of the future.

Workers' Defense Guards

Closely related to the rise of patriotism was the question of the establishment of workers' defense guards to protect labor organizations. The experience of our comrades with the establishment of defense guards, especially in Minneapolis and in New York, where the Coughlin hoodlums have been attacking labor headquarters and labor meetings, was developed. The extension of the base of the anti-fascist guards was stressed.

The question of our policy in the unemployed field, in view of the radically changed conditions there, came up for considerable discussion. The recent WPA strikes against the so-called "security" wage and the almost certain turbulence to be induced by the tremendous layoff in WPA and the "furlough" being given to those who have been on WPA rolls for more than eighteen months warrants the party's closest attention to the unemployed field. A complete program to augument the curtailed convention discussion on this score is indicated.

Negro Question

For the first time in the history of our party a lengthy discussion was held on the very important negro question. Heretofore, for definite historical reasons, the party has not utilized its opportunities in tapping this great reservoir of potential revolutionary energy. The pospects in this field, given our program, look very bright.

The task of the convention were primarily organizational. This became evident in the pre-convention discussion period. No serious political differences were evidenced, but there was almost universal dissatisfaction with the comparatively loose functioning of the party. The rank demanded a functioning organization that would permit further penetration into the union movement, demanded a political budget conceived not haphazardly but in a planned fashion that would enable us to appear in bold actions that would catch the worker's eye, demanded pamphlets for mass distribution, etc.

Organization Campaign

The answer to these felt wants wes expressed in the organizational resolution. It provided for an increase in the appearance of the bi-weekly **Appeal** as soon as feasible. It provides for a series of popular pamphlets on subjects of burning interest, such as the very successful Coughlin pamphlet recently published. It provides for the sending out of twenty organizers in the near future. It contemplates a full-time labor secretary. It projects a series of tours and active workers' conferences. And most important — it provides for a planned recruiting drive. To finance all this an organization-press fund goal of $10,000 was set.

Successful Convention

The convention was in nearly every respect the finest in positive value the Fourth International has had in the United States. There was an all-pervading feeling of seriousness—of solidarity. At this convention there were no prima donnas, no tired old men, no arm-chair masters of the dialectic, no screwballs. The delegates were young — the average age was twenty-eight and a half. They were in the majority members of the union movement. They represented thirty-five of the key industrial cities of the United States. They were critical. They viewed the future with confidence.

Such, in short, was the anti-war convention, perhaps the last legal convention of our party before the war. It is impossible to convey the content of the resolutions in the short space of this letter. Readers of **Socialist Action** would do well to read the complete texts of the resolutions in the **Socialist Appeal** for we shall both be facing the same problems. For only in our program, that of the Fourth International, is there a human way out for the working class.

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Fight With The Socialist Workers League For:

1.—Complete independence from the British Empire and its imperialist war plans.
2.—Expropriate the "50 big shots".
3.—A two billion dollar federal works program at trade union rates.
4.—Bosses! pay trade union rates or give us your factories.
5.—Joint price control by workers and farmers committees.
6.—All war funds to the unemployed.
7.—Thirty dollar weekly old age, widows and disability pensions
8.—Jobs for youth — not guns.
9.—Joint trade union councils.
10.—Workers defence guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
11.—An independent farmer-labor party against the boss class.

* * * * *

A Twentyfifth Anniversary

Twenty-five years ago this month, began the first World War. Before it ended, thirteen million men, the pick of the world's workers had been slain. Another thirty million were injured and maimed.

Why did they die? Why were they blinded, maddened and maimed? The Allies told them: "to save Europe and America from Prussian militarism, to end all wars and to make the world safe for democracy".

The Central Powers told them: "to defend their homes and culture from Tsarist barbarism and oppression".

The war ended. The survivors returned home. They came back to the same old scheme of things. The rich had grown richer, laden down with millions profiteered out of men's blood.

The workers today are without homes, lost to the mortgage trusts, the youth set adrift, as in the Canadian West, to starve or become fodder for fascism and the new war.

War preparations in Canada as in the rest of the world cut deeply into the vestiges of civil liberties and democratic rights and threaten military dictatorship. The notorious Official Secrets Act already on the Canadian statute books will see to that, unless the trade unions fight it now.

Where are the anti-war parades of the C.P. of C held on by-gone anniversaries? On the eve of the second world war, the ex-communists and the Comentern, not only have failed to call the workers out against the imperialist slaughter. They are actually preparing the workers for that slaughter .

Only the Fourth International to-day issues the call:

Down with all imperialist wars.

Don't die for capitalism. Fight and live for Socialism.

* * * * *

For Labour Candidates Against The Boss Class!

Two months ago Socialist Action termed the Herridge New Democracy movement, a Canadian version of the "Peoples' Front" and a "Tory-Social Credit-"Communist" Party allian ce. Buck and Co. termed this "Trotskyist-fascist" slander. But now the cat is out of the bag.

Recently at Melville, Sask., the CCF decided to shun the Buck-Herridge-Aberhart coalition. Immediately the C.P. of C. set to work to reverse this decision or smash the Melville branch of the C.C.F.

To this end a so-called "Unity meeting" was engineered. Charges and counter charges were flung, then Adam Hubenig, a Stalinist stooge, until recently president of the Melville C.C.F., forgot himself and disclosed that Conservative, Social Credit and C.C.F. representatives had met last winter to discuss united action and that a committee had been formed. The Conservatives and Social Creditors had "played fair" (and the C. P of C, also in the guise of Mr. Hubenig), but the C.C.F. had doublecrossed them Mr. Hubenig added. (see Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, July 21).

Undoubtetly the unpopularity that came to the King government through its proposed 60 cent wheat, had caused the C.C.F. to figure it had good chances of obtaining increased representation on its own.

But what is of more importance here is Mr. Hubenig's confession that the Tory Party was in at the concocting of the Herridge-Buck-Aberhart coalition. This is easily understandable

There has never been a Tory government in Alberta. There is not one Tory sitting in the present Saskatchewan Legislature. Liberal Premier Bracken has been in office in Manitoba continuously since 1922. In Alberta the Tory provincial organization as such, has folded up completely.

LABOR READY FOR INDEPENDENT ROLE

The Tory chances of success on the prairies at the next election were nil. The 60 cent wheat proposal also killed hope of a Liberal Party sweep. **Workers and Farmers in the west were ready to step out, independent of boss parties.**

Panicky, the Tories through Herridge picked up the Stalinist slogan for a "Peoples Front", changed it to "New Democracy" in the sole hope of re-hitching western farmers and workers to the old Tory Chariot.

Once again it is revealed that the People's Front and its Canadian version the **New Democracy are but new names for an old strategy. This strategy is the old treacherous game of class collaboration and coalition governments with the bostes.**

The New Democracy movement is a boss ruse, a Tory ruse,—and a Stalinist ruse — to have Canadian workers and farmers accept a joint program with the same old Tory and Social Credit gang.

What program? The defense of bourgeois democracy; that is for the defense of one form of capitalism.

Whose program is this? It is obviously not the program of the workers and poor farmers. The program of the proletariat accepted by revolutionists since the publication of the Communist Manifesto, can be summed up in two slogans for **workers power and for socialism.** Naturally the Tories can not and will not support such slogans.

The New Democracy is not a move to lead labor into breaking away from the boss parties. It is a boss ruse and a Stalinist ruse to re-shackle labor to a boss party program.

Labor with its farmer allies must act as a class!
For labor candidates against the boss class!

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The Hounds Unleashed

The Communist Party has reopened hostilities in Canada against the Socialist Workers' League with renewed vigour. The hounds have been unleashed to sniff out and tear to pieces any who show even the slightest interest in the IVth International. This renewed Trotsky-baiting is the reaction by the party heads to rapid disintegration of the Communist Party: witness the demise of the Daily Clarion. A scapegoat must be found and the attention of the Party diverted from the rotten labor politics of its leaders. Someone must be blamed for the declining numbers and influence of the Communist Party. Let it be the Trotskyists, the Party heads have ordained. And so the anti-Trotskyist hounds have been allowed to slip their leashes.

This new attack has taken two main forms In the first place, as pointed out in our July issue, a local version of the Moscow frame-up trials has been organized. These subjects of the local amalgam are Carl Hichin and Tom Montague, both leading militants who left the Communist Party in disgust with its politics, and whom the Clarion now falsely links up with Peson and Walsh, two individuals described as fascists but who are unknown to the SWL! Above all the Communist Party must discredit Hichin and Montague; their break from Stalinism was too severe a blow to go unanswered. But the answers, as usual, are lies and frame-ups. The workers themselves have answered these falsifiers. No sooner had the Daily Clarion published this lying attack, than it promptly folded up, to re-emerge as a weekly. The workers themselves have answered the Communist Party and the Clarion by refusing to pay 3 cents for the sheet every day.

The baiting has found expression in a second form, namely, an inner- party "reeducation". Party members are retaught to hate the Trotskyists blindly. The leadership is trying feverishly to build a Chinese wall around Communist Party members so that the SWL program will not reach their ears. But even this inner party anti-Totskyist agitation is meeting with no great success. New branches of SWL in the West include former Communist Party members and present Communist Party members are constantly contacting our organizers and asking for information about our progam. Again the workers themselves reply to the renewed slander of the Communist Party. By taking an increased interest in the Socialist Workers League they give the lie to the Clarion ravings.

The hounds are loose but the prey eludes their grasp. The revolutionary prey is well protected by the farmers and workers themselves: Carl Hichin is still warmly welcomed by the farmers and workers of the Prairie provinces; Tom Montague still stands at the head of the Unemployed Union of over 1800 workers in York Township.

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WINDSOR TAMMANY

(continued from page 1)

protest meeting, the council refused a permit, and again no protest from the C.P. aldermen. The unemployed however, were bent on their meeting and went down to the meeting hall to take forcible possession. Here they were met by Georgina Ketchenson, C.P. leader who warned them they were breaking the law, and their leaders would be arrested!

Spills the Beans

After seven months of this game, the acquiescent silence of the laborites was finally and belatedly broken, by C.C.F. Alderman Atkinson, hitherto loyal Croll supporter. In the course of a speech at a C.C.F. constituency meeting, where he was nominated Federal candidate for Essex West, he accused the mayor and the board of control of "playing Tammany Hall politics". As reported in the Windsor Star, June 29|39, he declared!

"I tell you they are up to their necks in politics, and it is impossible for the rest of us to do anything we might want to do for the people of the city of Windsor. I am sick and tired of the Tammany Hall politics being played in the city hall".

One might at this point ask: who are "the rest of us" among the opportunists and labour skates, both C.C.F. and C.P.? So far, "the rest of us" have failed to state their position publicly, with regard to further support to Dave Croll's machine.

"Ten-Cent" Croll

After Ald. Atkinson's outburst, came Provincial C.C.F. organizer Bert Leavens with an accusation that Croll was a "ten cent politician". He failed however to criticise C.C.F. members who gave support to the ten cent policies of Mr. Croll. At this same meeting, Mr. Leavens stated (Windsor Star, June 29|39):

"I met Mayor Croll yesterday and had a talk with him. I told him that we had room for him in the C.C.F, and that if he was a friend of labor he should be with us. He said we didn't have a broad enough programme to get anywhere".

It seems strange for a C.C.F. organizer to invite a ten-cent politician into his party, but Mr. Leavens is apparently unembarrassed. Not so the C.C.F. and C.P. rank and file, who are questioning the tomblike silence of their City Hall comrades.

The labour fakers in the Popular Front at the City Hall carry the responsibility for the spread of discouragement among the workers. Every sincere militant must realize that such "labour representatives", regardless of what party label they wear, are only agents of the capitalist masters with whom they have entered into alliance. No capitalist politician, however loud his protestations of "loyalty" to labour, will ever serve any but his own class. Labour must fight its own battles.

THE LITTLE RED SHOOLHOUSE

The red of the little red school house is now seeping through the walls to the inside.

In the province of Saskatchewan more than half of all the teachers are presently receiving less than $500 a year, and some 23 per cent are receiving less than $400. Furthermore, these salaries are merely on paper; hundreds of teachers receive practically nothing, wages being scoes of thousands of dollars in arrears.

Several successful strikes have recently taken place. Among these must be numbered the strikes at Milden and Meyronne, both in Saskatchewan. A mch bigger move is insight.

Nearly 500 Saskatchewan teachers recently voted for an extension of the self-imposed minimum salary of $700 per annum to affect contracts signed in 1940. What may be termed rank and file campaign committee was set up, and the state — infested Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation was severely criticized. When 75 per cent of the profession have signed pledges not to teach for less than $700 a year, the newly elected rank and file leadership is to declare the minimum campaign to be in full force.

Labor will welcome the move in general, and will lend all support. But it is necessary to point out some shortcomings.

May 31 next year has been mentioned in some quarters as the date for possible strikes or "provoked lockouts" at the schools refusing the $700 a year. That date is dangerously near the end of the school year.

A general strike of all teachers in the province will be needed to ensure victory. Isolated and scattered strikes throughout the countryside of handfuls of teachers will not suffice.

The teachers will be striking against the state. They can expect all manner of counter attacks. In a measure, theirs will be a political strike. Such a strikes needs mass publicity, explanation of the real issues before millions of people, day after day. It needs the building of a teacher-controlled union or the changing of the STF into a union. It needs mass activity, mass propaganda, mass publicity and mass picketing.

In the meantime all strength to the teachers' preparations to improve their deplorable conditions.

WORKERS FORUM

To the Editor: Calgary, Alta

On August 2nd a civic by-election is held in Calgary to fill a seat vacated by the death of Ald. Bob Parkyn, member of the CCF Central Council.

At present the Civic Government Taxpayers Association, an amalgamation of liberals and conservatives, has a majority on the City Council.

The Canadian Labor Party has nominated Miss Edith Patterson to contest this seat. She is one of the CLP "Diehards".

The real workers' candidate is Mrs Irene Jorginson. She was recently expelled from the CCF by Mr. E. J. Garland and Mr. E. E. Roper for her militancy within the organization. She is president of the Calgary Women's Unemployed Association, which organization has on numerous occasions demonstrated its fighting qualities on picket lines and on delegations to the City Council. Mrs. Jorginson, quite naturally, is accused by the CP of being a Trotskyite.

C.C.F. Inactivity

The CCF Central Council continues to hold forth at its Centre St. Hall. Apart from the preparations to send a number of representatives to the fothcoming Provincial CCF convention, to place their case before the delegates, there are no developments to record.

Due to the inherent weakness of the CCF here as elsewhere, the membership is kept in a state of inactivity. Without directives or leadership of any sort from the national or provincial offices — except at election times, the members tend to become apathetic. When a crisis develops such as the present one, they are inclined to sit back and wait for things to happen rather than go out on the offensive. The more politically advanced members realize the demoralization that such inactivity brings in its trail.

Triple Alliance

The coming of the New Democracy movement to Alberta is widely acclaimed by the CP lunatic fringe as the advent of a Messiah. All manner of political fusions and confusions are in the offing. Most prominent of these is the proposed Triple Alliance of the CP, CCF, and Social Credit; boiled to essentials this means another Front Populaire to misdirect the growing discontent of the workers and farmers.

So far the CCF in Alberta has refused to have truck or trade with the Herridge movement, and bitterly accuse him of swiping some of their election planks.

S.W.L. Active

Early in July a group of workers gathered and laid plans for the launching of a branch of the Socialist Workers' League in Calgary. While coming seasonal activities in the harvest fields, etc., necessitate a temporary delay, early autumn will see a vigorors branch in action. Already through personal contact and circulation of SOCIALIST ACTION our movement is becoming a topic of conversation where class conscious workers meet.

—Charles L

Saskatoon, Sask.

Dear Editor,

In an unguarded moment Herridge let the cat out of the bag here while speaking at a meeting deliberately intended to frighten the C.C.F. into lining up with Herridge, Buck, and Aberhart.

Here is M. Herridge's slip-up! "I think I should also remind Mr Woodswoth that when socialism stands in the way of the people's happiness and security (as interpreted by Mr. Herridge and his perpetuation of poverty breeding democratic capitalism), it is just as reactionary as our present reactionary economic system".

Herridge's Role

It seems to me, comrade editor, that right there Mr. Herridge revealed that he intends to play the same role as Daladier and Azana. Herridge will play ball with labor so long as labor quietly acquiesces in a continuation of capitalist repression, but should labor strike out on its own for its own good and towards its own goal then Mr. Herridge will turn his mobile guards against "reactionary" labor or maybe perhaps, as was done in Spain, he'll borrow a few G.P.U. murderers from the Stalinists.

Anyway, altho Mr. Herridge threatened, Buck cajoled and Stalinists in general burst up several C.C.F. constituency groups by boring in with their pro- Herridge tripe, the C.C.F. convention held here last week unanimously turned thumbs down on Herridge and Co.

At the C.C.F. convention one thing stood out. Driven into a corner by the savageness of the Herridge plus Stalinist attack, C.C.F. spokesmen time after time were compelled to point to socialism as the only alternative to present conditions. Unfortunately, the same speakers in the next breath went on to link their type of socialism with the capitalism in New Zealand altho every time socialism was mentioned farm and city delegates to the convention cheered and every time measures for propping up capitalism were mentioned interest obviously flagged. Don't you think that is significant and encouraging to the Socialist Workers' League.

Wishing Socialist Action every success Yours for Socialism

B———

P.S. You should have seen the local Stalinists hang their heads when Herridge made his reactionary crack against Socialism. Without supporters of his own, Herridge used the local Stalinists as collection lifters and ushers at his meeting here.

TOM MONTAGUE REPLIES TO CLARION SLANDER

The Daily Clarion of June 16, in a deathly panic, just before its collapse, printed a libellous attack on my personal character, and through me, on the Socialist Workers League. The poor nonentities of the so-called Communist Party, barren of any political answer to my published statement in Socialist Action, had to resort to unexampled yellow journalism, so desperately afraid of the growing influence of the SWL are these messeng r boys of British Imperialism. They failed, however, to understand that the workers have long memories and can point out lies from their own knowledge, as many York workers have done to me. The GPU agent who wrote the article stated that I was removed from positions for "financial irresponsibility". What positions, Mr. Fred Rose?

Stalinist Treasury Dippers

The workers of Canada and particularly York, know that I never held any position but that of National Secretary of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League, and never handled any money, there being a Treasurer, Comrade Halsall. What little there was to treasure was grabbed from the League by Communist Party through Mr. Chippy Chapman and Mr. Jack Harris, whose receipts I hold. Mr. Frank Watts of Mt. Dennis paid the rent out of his own pocket for three months for the National office on College St. When the League was finally wrecked by Stalinism I was left holding the bag for debts of over $150. Of this, $60 was a debt run up in a grocery store to feed such parasites as Mr. Stewart Smith, Mr. C. Marriott, Mr. Bill Findlay, who were continually visiting my home. One parasite I kept for three months or more — Mr. Bob (Big-Eater) Dickie. I had a $100 washing machine seized by the bailiff in satisfaction of this particular grocery debt, which the party pledged itself to pay and is still "paying".

Rank and File Revolt

Their Mr. Libeller stated, "Montague became National Secretary of the League owing to its immaturity". Again the workers, and particularly York workers, know I built the League, as there was only a nucleus in Winnipeg, a small branch in Vancouver, one in Hamilton and another in Windsor when I began to organize. After six months of intensive organizing by me in the Greater Toronto area the first Provincial Convention was held at Hamilton and I was elected Provincial Secretary by a record vote. Six months later the National Convention was held at Ottawa, and the National Communist Party fraction ratified a burocratic decision of the "Politburo" to elect Dickie of Calgary National Secretary. The rank and file delegates from coast to coast rebelled at this decision and I was elected National Secretary by a unanimous vote over the head of the Politburo.

More Lies

Again the libellous article stated that I was to deliver an important report to a Eastern Canada Convention at Windsor, that I turned up at the first session drunk, went over to Detroit, got drunk again and remained that way for the entire convention. Again the veterans and workers know this for a lie, particularly York veterans, who were pesent at the Convention. I not only delivered a report lasting one hour and forty five minutes at the first session, for which I was commended by many delegates, in the discussion from the floor, but I attended all sessions as well. I still have copies of the minutes of that convention, typed and signed by Mr. J. Rehel, Stalin stooge from Ward Five, Toronto. In these minutes, which he signed, he states that I deliver almost a two-hour report and was highly complimented for my work on behalf of the League.

The night the convention finished Comrade Davis of Sarboro, in whose car I travelled to Windsor ageed to go over the border with me to Detroit the following morning to pick up my young daughter who had been spending two months with her aunt. We were exactly 45 minutes in Detroit. Back in Windsor, we picked up our quota of comrades and immediately left for Toronto. In the car were Comrades Denton and F. Miller of York, as well as delegates from Scarboro and Mr. J. Rehel.

I have beside me a copy of the "Worker" of that period, and in large type my name appears at the top of an article which is a write-up of the proceedings of that same convention, session by session, with a comment by Mr. Leslie Morris on my program of action. I must have been drunk when I wrote that article about a convention which I allegedly never attended! Mr. Morris, the editor of the "Worker", must have been pickled to accept an article from a "booze hound" writing up a conference he was "too drunk to attend."

Anonymous Attack

The slanderous article goes on to charge that under these conditions, Montague was dropped out of the Party. Again I have to remind these gentlemen that the workers have a good memory. In the "Worker" of December, 1935, appeared an anonymous article stating that I had been expelled from the Party for the familiar "drunkenness" and inactivity and for threatening to run against the Popular Front candidate in the December, 1935, York municipal elections. Nothing this time about "financial irresponsibility" or having ruined the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League. So much did they fear me that copies of that article were plastered all over York Township. The workers and veterans of York remembered it so well that they elected me leader of the recent strike struggle over all the local Stalin stooges. This was the most bitterly fought strike in the history of York. They also elected me president of the Township-wide Unemployed Union. This was the answer of the York workers to that particular Communist Party libel.

Urged to Rejoin

The writer also omitted to state that as recently as February of this year I was urged to rejoin the Communist Party by Mr. Ewart Humphreys. This is the ward heeler the workers rejected on two successive occasions when he offered himself for re-election to Council, after he had betrayed them by Popular Front corridor intrigues. Mr. W. C. Gillingham in Mr. Humphrey's home and in his presence also uged me to rejoin the Communist Party. During the strike, because the workers were following my leadership, the local Communist Party made many other attempts to get me back into its machine. My answer was, No, but I added that I would discuss my political stand with them after the strike. When the Socialist Workers League called a political meeting at the end of the strike to analyze the lessons of the struggle, I publicly exposed the Communist Party sabotage of that struggle. Only then did the GPU go into action in a desperate attempt to frame me.

I will leave this most recent libellous attack, as with the others in the past, to the workers of Canada, thousands of whom know my record of militant struggle. I am confident that once again they will record their verdict in my favor.

B.C.—C.C.F. in Convention

(continued from page 5)

a policy of saying to the government: we would like to have a vote on war but if you don't think we should, please see that everybody is investing properly in war industry before you send us away to get blown up.

A similar caution invested the decisions on Herridge. According to the Toronto "New Commonwealth", the B.C. conference ruled that "no alliance can be made between the CCF and the New Democracy". Actually the reverse is nearer the truth. By ruling of Chairman Lefeaux, the Herridge movement was declared to be a non-political party and so one which could be co-operated with by individual locals and clubs.

Militant opposition to the burocratic and unsocialist tendencies of the conference was scattered and unorganized, though the majority of the 116 delegates made it clear they distrusted and disapproved of the arbitrary leadership and the organizational weakness which has resulted. T. R. Casey, from the floor, reminded the conference of "what became of the British Labor Party when the Parliamentarians got control." An eighty-year-old delegate was young enough to hit the nail on the head when he said that the CCF "is less radical than the People's Party" (of the 1890's) which he had helped to found. "The CCF," he declared, "is leaning away to the right. It isn't militant enough." His words might well serve as an epitaph for the convention.

WITH THE Action Builders

Well, here it is the start of another month and we face the now familiar picture of another printer's bill and a mighty skinny treasury. We must admit frankly that subs and sustainers are not coming in at nearly the rate necessary to make the paper self supporting. It still runs mainly on funds supplied by Toronto, which cannot continue to bear the burden indefinitely. We don't mean to say that there has been no help from outside. Windsor, for instance, gave us a boost with a special call for an extra thousand of the last issue, and unexpected help has come from other sources. But some places that should be turning in new business regularly have been as silent as the grave. For all we've heard from Vancouver this month, the town might have fallen into the Pacific with all hands.

Increased circulation is the lifeblood of a paper, just as vital as the red fluid that flows (we hope) through the arteries of all of us. And unless Socialist Action gets a steady new supply of this vital fluid it will conk off from anemia or hardening of the arteries or something. There is absolutely no reason why the circulation of Socialist Action should not climb steadily. It is rapidly developing into a paper of which we can be thoroughly proud. It carries material vital to labor, presented with clarity and force. It features up the minute accounts from veteran organizers and journalists, on the spot, of important developments in the Canadian scene. A glance at this issue will show a steadily improving make-up job. So let's go to town! Hit up your friends, neighbors, and work mates for subs and sustainers. Get Action on local newsstands, or if you cannot make the arrangements yourself, send us their addresses and we will tackle them directly. Let our slogan be MORE ACTION FOR ACTION!

The Manager.

Socialist Action

OFFICIAL ORGAN of SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUE of CANADA

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STALIN CAPITULATION LAUNCHES ANOTHER EUROPEAN WAR

Writing themselves in history as the immediate precepitators of the European War, Stalin and his fellow-murderers of the Kremlin last month dealt the final death-blow to the Third International they had long since debauched, by capitulating to the monstrous Hitler regime of Germany. Confirming with tragic fullness the predictions of Trotsky and the Fourth Internationalists, Stalin first destroyed the Spanish revolution to win the favor of the "democracies", then, junked by them at Munich, he turned to an alliance with the world representative of reaction, and gave Hitler the signal which led to the invasion of Poland.

REMEMBER 1914-1918

While ruling circles in Britain, France and Germany lightly toss the dice of war, let's remember the first World War.

LET'S REMEMBER that the World War cost 30 million lives and 400 billion dollars in property. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butter in his graphic demonstration of the cost of the last war to the world, says:

"If that 400 billion dollars had been put to constructive use it woud have built a $2,500,000 house and furnished this house with $1,000 worth of furniture, and placed it on five acres of land worth $100 an acre and given all this to each and every family in the United States, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Belgium, Germany and Russia".

His report continues that after doing this there would have been enough money to give to each city in these countries a $5,000,000 library and a $1,000,000 university; enough money to pay for all time to come out of a sinking fund, salaries for 125,000 teachers and 125,000 nurses; and out of the balance enough to buy up all of France and Belgium.

LET'S REMEMBER that these 30 million lives were taken in order to determine whether German and Austro-Hungarian imperialism or French, British, Czarist and American imperialism would dominate the world, and reap profits from the millions of white, black, brown and yellow slaves of the colonies.

LET'S REMEMBER that in the midst of all the misery and devastation inflicted on the masses, the profits of the capitalist class swelled beyond the highest limits it had yet attained.

LET'S REMEMBER that the war was fought under the slogans of a "war to end all wars" and there has not been a year since the end of the World War in which wars, large or small, were not being fought.

LET'S REMEMBER that the war was fought under the slogan of a "war for democracy" and that there is less democracy, that the masses today in every capitalist country in the world enjoy fewer democratic rights than they did at any other time in the last fifty years.

LET'S REMEMBER that the masses were mobilized and driven to the charnel house of war with the cry that "We'll hang the Kaiser to a sour apple tree!" The Kaiser remains free and alive while millions rot in war graves, the Kaiser remains one of the wealthiest men in the world today. His place has been

(continued on page 2)

It was Stalin's (left) pact with Hitler (above) that gave the latter the "green light" into Poland. Stalin who murdered Lenin's old guard as "Trotskyist fascists" has revealed himself—hand in glove with the Nazi chief.

..WE REGRET SOME TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS. OUR READERS WILL UNDERSTAND OUR DIFFICULTIES.

Real Meaning of Moscow Trials is Clear

Today, at last, the world can see quite plainly the real meaning of the Moscow Trials.

Stalin's pact with Hitler! Stalin's blessing on the most savage, hideous political force in recorded history! Stalin's signal for Nazism to advance with a free hand, and to yoke ever more tens of millions of workers and peasants beneath the Nazi chains. The mask is off at last!

STALIN MUREDERED THE FLOWER OF THE PARTY

One by one, by tens and dozens and hundreds and thousands, Stalin butchered. By frame-up in open court or in dark rooms in black night, in concentration camps or the cellars of the Lubianka, the guns of the GPU smoked. Zinoviev and Smirnov and Kamenev and Bukharin, Pyatakov, Mrachkovsky.... all who remained of those who had led the great revolution, all Lenin's comrades and colleagues, those who had been the flower of the dead party which Stalin murdered, fell before the assassin of the Kremlin.

These were the allies of Hitler, the agents of the Gestapo, the plotters of a "German orientation"! So said Vyshinsky.—

And now, with its fierce, terrible irony, history pulls aside the curtain: it is Stalin, Stalin the well-beloved, the eagle, the lion, the rain and the sun, who embraces Hitler over the bones of the workers of Europe.

Let us hear now from the defenders of the Trials! They know now what they defended: the alliance with Hitler, the free hand for Hitler.

Proceeding from the first betrayal of "socialism in one country-and-to-hell-with-the-world-revolution", Stalin has pursued his murderous course to its logical conclusion, "Peace in one country"—and let the workers of every other country slaughter each other for the profits of world imperialism. And just as surely as the enforcement of a nationalist policy upon the Russian workers by the Stalin dictatorship is leading not to socialism but back to capitalism so it is leading not to peace for the workers state, but war—war without allies, with the one bulwark of defense of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary international movement of the workers, betrayed, bewildered and scattered.

Maneuvring for national advantage among the imperialist powers, Stalin has long since made Russia their victim. While he dickered for impossible "popular fronts" and a "a bloc of peaceloving democratic powers" and even while he and his paid hirelings in the Communist International leadership brayed to the world that they had already "stopped Hitler" and "saved peace", Hitler and Mussolini helped Franco shackel the Spanish revolution in the bloody chains of fascism, Daladier dammed the French revolutionary upsurge, turned France into a virtual dictatorship of the imperialists, and, with Chamberlain's help, handed Ethiopia and Albania to Mussolini, Austria and Czechoslovakia to Hitler.

Terms Of Pact

No amount of wriggling and lying by the hired or duped tools of Stalinism has been able this time to hide the betrayal from the eyes of the working-class. A simple reading of the Pact reveals at once that it is nothing like the previous non-aggression pacts which the

(continued on page 4) → 2

THE WHEAT FIGHT

FOR FARMERS TO "NOT-SELL" IS TO "SELL OUT"

(Special to Socialist Action)

WINNIPEG, Man. Well might the west exclaim, "If it isn't one damn thing, it's another". And the reference isn't to grasshoppers, rust and drought.

Right on top of the Buck-Herridge-Aberhart ruse to tie western toilers to boss politics in the straight electoral arena, now comes agitation in the fair-price-for-wheat fight to prevent the farmers from aiming their blows against the bourgeois state.

A Deceptive Alternative

Called a "no-sale-of-wheat strike", the new dodge was first advanced at a CCF convention held in Wetaskiwin, Alta., some two months ago. Since then, it has been taken up by some CCF, CP of C and Wheat Pool spokesmen and scattered all over the prairies. Now, certain sections of the farm press are deliberately pushing it as an alternative to the farmers fight against the cut in the wheat subsidy, imposed in the spring by the Canadian bourgeoisie through the King government.

As a brief review of the whole wheat fight will reveal, it's a particularly artful dodge—even down to the introduction of the militant sounding word, "strike".

Farmers Fight Sabotaged

Ten years and more of suffering, debt and impoverishment had the farmers in fractious mood this early spring.

Up till then the government had paid the farmers the difference between the international market price of wheat, as at Fort William, and 80 cents a bushel. But even at that the farmers could not make a go of it. Both the state and the farmers, in effect, realized that under present world conditions, and with the Canadian agrarian economy rotting so rapidly, the wheat farmers of the west could not get along without an increased state subsidy.

But right at this moment, the King government tried to cut the amount of state aid by 20 cents a bushel—by fixing the subsidized price at 60 cents. The farmers rebelled. Farm local after local voted for militant demonstrations along the royal route in the spring. Boss parties fell into disfavor. So did the C.P. of C., which was still supporting King.

Treachery Drains Militancy

But by one method and another—(see previous issues of Socialist Action)—the boss parties, the Wheat Pools, the CCF and the C.P. of C. managed to drain the militancy from the farmers' fight, and then drop it almost completely, when King compromised by fixing the state-subsidized price at 70 cents—a ten cent cut, a loss of upwards of 20 million dollars to the farmers!

And with such a cut, of course the farmers were not satisfied. Far from it. Given leadership today, they would readily resume their militant fight against the boss class and its government.

"Join The Bosses"

Instead, there now comes this new ruse; the farmers are asked not to sell their wheat under the illusory promise that this will force the price of wheat up on the international market, (apparently above the 70 cents now being paid on the first 5,000 bushels harvested by each farmer).

In other words, the farmers are to abandon their fight against the Canadian boss class, and enter a fight alongside a section of it in the international market arena.

What's Behind This Word "Strike"

As proposed, the farmers are to hold their entire crops off the market until the world market price becomes "satisfactory". Now, wheat today is somewhere around 50 cents a bushel (Fort William) and recently in Liverpool approached an all time low. Anyone who thinks that in this day and era, holding the Canadian crop off the market will increase the world price of wheat over 60 per cent, has another think coming! The move is doomed to failure before it starts.

But, even if the "strike" were partially successful, and did raise the price of wheat a few cents, the state and not the farmer would benefit, since the farmer is guaranteed by the state a subsidy sufficient to return the farmer a minimum of 70 cents a bushel on the first 5,000 bushels. Every cent increase in price, would be purely so much saved by the government. So far as the vast majority of farmers are concerned—those with 5,000 bushels or less—only the state stands to benefit.

It Smells

Of course, the ruse – if partially successful—would also help certain sections of the grain trade, the railroads and farmers with more than a 5,000 bushel crop. The railroads would not need to hire extra train crews to handle the customary autumn peak loadings. Certain sections of the grain trade with large holdovers from last year might be saved a few cents a bushel, if the "market drop" that usually accompanies the "unloading" of the Canadian harvest was spread out over a period of time.

But further, a large number of the farmers are broke as flat as milk on a plate. Of cash they have none. If they do not sell some wheat immediately, threshing crews and other hired help can not be paid. Immediately, a farmer versus worker fight would begin around each threshing machine and this would be extended to the cities as the hold-up tended to increase the price of the workers' loaf.

In short, the new ruse offers the farmer nothing. It seeks to set him against the worker and place him in alignment with the state for the latter's financial betterment. It would make him a tool of certain sections of the Canadian bourgeoisie partly at the expense of city workers.

What Should Be Done

There is even more than that. The way the new agitation is being conducted it is diverting attention from another needed fight.

As soon as the crop is harvested, the farmers will face the "dunners". Municipal tax collectors, implement agents, relief authorities, and mortgage sharks, all will pile in through the gate trying to seize the fruit of the farmers' labor. In Saskatchewan, this will be done to some extent under Bill 90. In other provinces under similar legislation.

The time has come for the western farmer to strike out boldly against the state, against the repayment of relief, payment of mortgage, machine and other debts, and interest charges. Mass meetings, demonstrations to municipal councils, and protection against foreclosure, seizures and evictions, must be organized.

To this, must be added a renewal of the fight for an adequate pegged price for wheat—government subsidized. And this is a fight, that to be fully successful, must assume mass proportions and be linked with the electoral fight of independent farmer and labor candidates.

LET'S REMEMBER

(continued from page 1)

taken not by a democracy but by the fascist regime of Hitler which makes the Junker regime of the pre-war Hohenzollerns look like child's play.

LET'S REMEMBER the abominable lies which the rulers of every land told their people for the purpose of drugging their minds with the poison of chauvinism and nationalism. The same lies, the same poison, are being disseminated at this very moment by the same rulers, who pursue the same aim—preparing docile cannon fodder for a new imperialist war.

LET'S REMEMBER that the "peace" which was established at Versailles after the war was a monstrous lie—a brazen attempt to reduce the peoples of the defeated nations to the positions of slaves. It was this "peace" that contributed so mightily to the rise and triumph of Hitlerism in Germany and Austria.

LET'S REMEMBER also that even from the standpoint of the war-patriots, the millions did die in vain, for the defeated powers of yesterday once more threaten the preferential imperialist position of the victorious powers— the twenty years that have elapsed have only brought the imperialist rivalries and conflicts to the point at which they stood on the eve of the last world war.

LET'S REMEMBER that the infamous Versailles Treaty — which brought neither peace nor democracy—was supported by the Social Democratic parties and their International, the Second International, which supported the capitalist class in its war and which took upon itself the responsibility for the indefensible crime of the spurious "peace" and all its consequences.

LET'S REMEMBER that the Russian masses brought the war to to an end, at least for themselves, a year before the imperialists called a halt, and that they did it in the only effective way, by the revolutionary overthrow of the war-mongers and their social system, capitalism, which breeds war.

LET'S REMEMBER that the German ruling class decided to sue for peace only after the millions of German workers and peasants in soldier's uniform resolved to stop murdering their French and English brothers and to turn their guns instead upon their Junker officials and their own ruling class.

And as the new world war threatens—the new war which would be infinitely more horrible and destructive than any in history.—

LET'S REMEMBER the last.

LET'S REMEMBER the lies of capitalism which drove the masses into the war that led to what?

LET'S REMEMBER the frightful "peace" which came after it.—

LET'S REMEMBER that only the independent action of the working class, that only the war of the masses upon the war-mongering rulers, can put an end, really and once for all, to wars in general.

In the great class war between the exploited and exploiter, the oppressed and the oppressor, there is no peace.

It is only by our victory, only by smashing capitalism and its ugly offspring, war, that the socialist society can be ushered in, and along with it abundance for all men, freedom from all social inequity, and a true and lasting peace!

THE WORKERS ANGLE ON WAR

War Is Here - What Now?

By Robertson

We write this on August 25 when no one of us knows whether it is to be general war tomorrow or—another few months of half-peace at the sacrifice of Poland to Hitler. We are going to write as if war were certain now. If this turns out to be a little premature, that is all to the good. You who read this will have the better opportunity to bring our policy to the attention of those who most should read it, the workers not yet in our party, the Canadian workers betrayed not only by their government but by their own leaders.

The war has come. What are you going to do?

Stalinist worker—or rather ex-Stalinist worker, for we do not believe there is a worker left in Canada who has faith now in Stalin and the murderous machine he has made out of the once glorious Third International. What are you going to do?

You remained loyal to Tim Buck and Moscow because you thought they were smarter revolutionaries than were we "Trotskyists".

You thought Stalin would help you crush fascism and then help you establish communism.

You laughed at us, some of you helped to persecute us, when Trotsky said, almost a year ago, that Stalin would make a deal with Hitler and smash the "Democratic Front".

You know now that we were right.

You know that it is Stalin who has precipitated this war by giving Hitler, at the exact moment when he wanted it, the go-ahead signal. It is the Stalin regime in Russia—the bureaucracy which murdered the founders of the Russian revolution—which has agreed to aid Hitler in this war with supplies ($150 million immediate trade exchange) and, for all that we know, even with a military alliance.

You know now that Stalinism will not fight fascism. What are you going to do?

You must make a choice. Already in France, Cachin and the other Stalinist misleaders have thrown away their socialist mask and changed from "social-patriots" to open patriots. They are now open and shameless agitators for French imperialist war. That is one road, the logical road for the Cachins who long ago ceased being revolutionaries. The Third International is dead and the corpse decomposing rapidly, as its national sections may break up hourly now under the last great betrayal.

The Only Hope

The other road, the road which honest workers must take, is the road for the Fourth International which alone stands openly and boldly against the new imperialist slaughter. Its organization presents THE ONLY HOPE for successful war-resistance, in this country and throughout the world. Its international, small and weak in many ways, is yet bigger and stronger than the organizations of resistance in 1914 out of which came the successful Russian revolution and the eventual stoppage of the last war. We need your help, you need ours. Either you must fight with us or you will be forced to fight against half the workers of Europe, even perhaps against the workers of Russia.

What Now, CCF'er?

CCF workers, what are you going to do?

Your leaders too have betrayed you. Instead of sounding the call for war-resistance, Woodsworth, so wordy in times of peace, has uttered not a single syllable. Some of your national leaders already during "Munich" hinted at their willingness to serve in a national war cabinet, to support this war provided "wealth were conscripted". They no longer make even that empty qualification.

But you, in the rank-and-file, you who joined the CCF because you wanted socialism, what now will you do? Your party can yet help to launch war resistance in Canada only if each of you begins at once to demand emergency local conventions to organize war resistance in cooperation with other forces.

All Are Aggressors

Workers of no creed or party! Workers who are bewildered, not knowing what to believe! What are the facts of this war? The hired boss-press of Canada, the censored radio, blare forth lies every day. Do not be fooled!

Is it true that Hitler is the only "aggressor"? The terms of the British-Polish treaty signed today in London GIVE THE DICTATORIAL ARMY CLIQUE RULING POLAND FULL POWER TO SAY WHEN GERMANY COMMITS AN AGGRESSIVE ACT. Who make up this clique? The Colonel Becks and their kind, assassins of the Jews, murderers of Polish Communists, oppressors of the Ukrainians of Poland, rich landlords who want to use Britain and France to smash Germany simply that they may keep their own power. They give the signal not necessarily when they are threatened but when they think they may best threaten.

Why are we fighting about Danzig? Danzig is a GERMAN CITY; its traditions, its people, its government, its history, are German. It was given over to the foreign domination of Poland though nominally a "Free City" as part of the military revenge of the allies, in the last war "to save democracy". It is the Polish ruling clique, fattening their treasury with customs levies in Danzig, who want to keep it under their thumb.

Fight Capitalism

But it is said that Hitler demanded all of Poland. Yes, but it is also admitted that Hitler might have compromised, for the time being, with the return of German Danzig alone and access across the Corridor, also German in population and history. The governments of Britain, France and Poland which created the Polish Corridor at Versailles are just as much responsible as Hitler. British-French mobilization were as much acts of war as German-Italian mobilization. It was the British fleet which two days ago spread out over the North Sea and the Baltic in blockade formation.

Hitler is a wolf of capitalism which must be destroyed. But we will not destroy his kind, we will not destroy fascism nor militarism until we destroy capitalism. And we will not destroy capitalism by fighting for it in the armies of British-French imperialism, any more than we destroyed it by fighting against the Kaiser and for the conquest of German-African colonies in 1914.

The Enemy Is At Home

Worker, think of these things! The masses in Poland groan under their Polish overlords now as much as they will under Hitler. Their only road to freedom is through the socialist revolution.

It is the only road too for the German and Italian workers. We will not make socialists out of them by shooting them! But if we here, in Canada, organize workers resistance to the war, continue the class struggle against the capitalist class, and march on from that to a working-class socialist government in Canada, we will light the spark which will fire the world. In Germany, in Italy, in France, in Britain, in Canada, everywhere, the enemy of the workers is their own government. Our enemies in Canada are the owners of munition plants and metal mines and forests and factories, the little handful of Big Shots who will make cold cash profits here at home while we do the bleeding and murdering and the dying 4,000 miles away on some muddy field of Europe.

Workers Hold Key

Above all, workers, do not underrate yourselves. YOU HAVE THE POWER. EXERCISE IT. Without the mining of copper, the manufacturing of planes, or even simply without the means of transportating death-implements to the sea, this country could do little to help Chamberlain's millionaires preserve their bloody empire over the hundreds of millions of colonial serfs. Key strikes, IF SUPPORTED AND DIRECTED BY AN ORGANIZED, STRONG FIGHTING SOCIALIST PARTY in this country could be the deciding factor in the struggle for the establishment of workers' power and socialism in Canada.

WE HAVE HERE AS FINE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SOCIALIST SUCCESS AS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD TODAY. American capitalism would think twice before intervening because it would face the resistance of the most powerful militant labor movement in the world today, the movement of the American workers themselves.

Canada Can Lead The Way

In Canada, the masses of Quebec are, even more than in 1914, hostile to Canadian participation in war. Why else has King delayed taking a stand with Chamberlain? King fears the power for war resistance in this country. At no time has the Canadian prairie farmer been so radical, so determined an opponent of Canadian capitalism. This country contains hundreds of thousands of German, Hungarian, Italian, Ukrainian workers who, GIVEN THE LEAD, will not march off to murder their fellow nationals in Europe.

Do not think that our revolt against British imperialism would be a lonely effort doomed to failure. Already the Union of South Africa has signified its "disloyalty". General Smuts, no socialist, but a spokesman for powerful South African interests, warned Europe war would lead to chaos. His speech, except for this one sentence, has been censored here, but its full gist, reported in America, shows that South Africa will not support the Empire.

A negro member of the Jamaica legislative council stated in August that "if England is drawn into another war....the people of the West Indies will refuse to fight". Crowds in London followed the King's car shouting "Give us peace". The masses do not want war.

(continued on page 7)

(Sept. 1939) p. 2

Stalin's "Go Ahead"

BRING NAZIS NEARER U.S.S.R.

(continued from page 1)

Soviet States has signed, many of which had obvious tactical and propaganda values. The present Pact combined with the trade agreemnt which immediately preceded it, constitute an alliance in which Stalin capitulates to Hitler.

Communist Parties Break Up

Stunned by this gigantic doublecross not of capitalism but of the working class, members and sympathizers of the CP are deserting in droves. The pink-intellectual weeklies, the Nation and the New Republic, are busy repudiating their erstwhile friends of the Popular Front. Heywood Broun, once Stalinist, now Catholic, has drowned them. Workers of the CIO, yesterday told by the Stalinists to boycott German goods, are enraged by the marriage to Hitler of the presumed international leaders of that boycott. The CIO rank and file see now that the gangsterism and disruption of Stalinist functionaries in the unions is cut from the same cloth as the Stalin-Hitler agreements.

In the largest sections of the Third International outside of Russia, (the French Communist Party), mass resignations have taken place, workers tearing up their cards in the streets, while bureaucrat leaders turn open patriots. Gabriel Peri, Stalin foreign affairs expert and an editor of the Party daily, L'Humanite, quit the Party, saying "I don't want to be an agent of Hitler"

During and immediately after the negotiation of the Pact, some few apologists tried to justify Stalin once more, but their arguments were swept away by the march of events as quickly as they were uttered. A scant month ago Stewart Smith and other CP lackeys in Canada were denouncing as Trotskyist—fascist slanderers the prediction that Stalin, doublecrossed by his capitalist "friends" at Munich, would seek the arms of Hitler. Even after the Pact was announced they insisted it would be no different in its clauses from the past agreements. When that too was proved a lie, Leslie Morris and his fellow political degenerates claimed that Stalin had averted war! Hitler, they said, was about to march through Poland on to Russia—but now, because he had signed a pact he could not! Within a week, Hitler had begun bombing and blasting his way through Poland, and the European War had begun. Every moment brings the fascist legions nearer the Soviet border, while the Workers' State lies powerless under GPU terrorism, its great Red Army for all one knows at this minute committed perhaps to fight in alliance with Hitler as its workers are already committed to the supplying of vital war supplies to Hitler and to the with-holding of similar supplies to Poland and to any other enemy of Hitler, capitalist or working class.

Only Hope For USSR

The revolutionary defense of Russia is already on the order of the day. For the workers of Russia the first step is the overthrow of the archtraitors who have erected their bloody terrorism on the crumbling workers' state. Stalin and his gang of assassins must go. The Old Bolsheviks must be avenged, the memory of Lenin restored, along with the principles which he followed and to which Trotsky still adheres, the principles of Marx and Lenin. The workers state must awake once more to battle, not for the dying imperialism of Europe, but for the liberty of the European peoples in a free and united Soviet States of Europe. In Russia all is not lost. The basis of a socialist planned economy, of state ownership and the monopoly of foreign trade still remain—unless Stalin has already secretly signed even this away to Hitler as the price of a worthless alliance. But only a united front of the proletariat inside and outside Russia, a united struggle to turn the boss war against the bosses, will sweep out the imperialist war-masters and create the international socialist world.

The 4th International

On the shoulders of the continuators of Lenin, under the leadership of the greatest living Marxist, Leon Trotsy, lies squarely now the great burden, but the historically magnificent burden, of leading the last great fight. To the many workers in danger of sinking into despair or turning to patriotism under the pressure of the capitalist propaganda machine and the disillusionment of the Stalinist betrayal, the Fourth International offers the road to victory.

They must break now, at once, and forever, with the nationalism and the bureaucratism of the socialdemocrats and Stalinists, with the Tim Bucks and the Woodsworths of every country, and turn resolutely, before it is too late, to the building anew of the parties of revolution.

The core exists in every important country, saved through persecution and slander by the courageous steadfastness of the "Trotskyists" to the principles of Bolshevism.

Here in Canada, in the short time that remains before we too are swept into the devastation we publish to the workers our unalterable opposition to capitalism both in peace and war, and call on all who stand by our principles to join with us in building the Canadian party of international socialism, the Socialist Workers League of the Fourth International.

THE BERLIN-MOSCOW TREATY

ARTICLE I

The two contracting parties obligate themselves to refrain from every act of force, every aggressive action and every attack against one another, including any single action or that taken in conjunction with other powers.

(This means that the Soviet Union gives Hitler a free hand not only in Poland, but also wherever else he may choose in the future to strike).

ARTICLE II

In case one of the parties of this treaty should become the object of warlike acts by a third power, the other party will in no way support this third power.

(This means that Stalin promises not to help any power which may decide to block Hitler's "aggressions").

ARTICLE III

The governments of the two contracting parties in the future will constantly remain in consultation with one another in order to inform each other regarding questions of common interest.

(This means that both Stalin and Hitler are now bound by ties of deep mutual interest and that they will act in unison in the international political arena).

ARTICLE IV

Neither of the high contracting parties will associate itself with any other grouping of powers which directly or indirectly is aimed at the other party.

(This means that Russian participation in any bloc of powers aimed at Hitler is henceforth excluded).

ARTICLE V

In the event of a conflict between the contracting parties concerning any question, the two parties will adjust this difference or conflict exclusively by friendly exchange of opinions or if necessary, by an arbitration commission.

(This means confirmation of the intimate relations now obtaining between Stalin and Hitler).

ARTICLE VI

The present treaty will extend for a period of ten years with the condition that if neither of the contracting parties announces its abrogation within one year of expiration of this period, it will continue in force automatically for another period of five years.

(This means that both Stalin and Hitler look forward to a long, and mutually profitable relationship).

ARTICLE VII

The present treaty shall be ratified within the shortest possible time. The exchange of ratification documents shall take place in Berlin. The treaty becomes effective immediately upon signature.

(This means that ratification is but a formality, and will be accomplished without delay).

(Special to Socialist Action)

SASKATOON, SASK.— On Aug. 11 a public meeting was called, admission by relief card only, to choose a Grievance Committee to sit in with Mayor Niderost, Commissioner Andrew Leslie, and the relief officer, G. W. Parker. This Grievance Committee will be permitted to see the relief officials at a stated time each day. This may sound good, but it is really a sour laugh. The Committee will have to approve the punishment of the unemployed for breaches of the relief regulations; otherwise the Committee will be done away with. But no rebellions against the authorities are likely to happen: the same people are on the Committee that got us a cut in relief clothing last spring. They are not likely to say anything about it now. The Stalinist chiefs are out to conciliate the masters of the present system, not antagonize them. They will sell the unemployed down the river this time, as they have always done before, as they are doing with the workers everywhere. Do these people represent the unemployed? The biggest vote in the Grievance Committee elections was 245 for Mrs. Rosin Taylor. Only 245 votes when there are 1700 families on relief in Saskatoon! These people do not represent the unemployed; that is why the authorities accept this Committee.

B.A.H.

BUCK'S NEW BUDDY JUST ANOTHER TORY

Herridge Was Bennett's Ghost

Until July 1938 Herridge was one of the leading lights of the Conservative Party. At its July convention he made a bid for leadership on a new platform, but was rejected. Thereupon he split from the Conservatives to form another movement, the New Democracy.

Although he did not join the Conservative Party until 1930, he soon picked a juicy plum in the appointment as Canadian Minister to Washington. He held this post for four years, and in that time, according to the Auditor-General's reports, he drew the handsome total of over $120,000.

But the ministerial post was merely a sideline. It was Herridge who, together with Bennett, bossed the Conservative Party. As one wit declared at the time, "he lives there (Washington) whenever he can get away from helping to run things at Ottawa".

He admired Bennett's method of ruling, as is shown by his speech to the Conservative Convention when he said, "You have lost a great leader. God help you!". The memory of Bennetts' iron heel upon the Regina trekkers was drowned in the blare of Herridge's eulogies of his former co-leader.

A Dictated Program

The New Democracy movement claims to be, not a party, but merely an organized sentiment which calls on all "progressives" to unite and nominate one candidate in each riding. In spite of the movement's name, little of the democratic aroma clings about its person, since its program is defined and handed down to the ranks by Herridge himself. And Herridge is frank about its limitations. It stands for "the security of the people and for the attainment of that security by the effective means provided within the capitalist system". (Globe and Mail, May 3).

In other words, Herridge stands for the maintenance of the capitalist system. Never once does he attack the Canadian capitalist class. He belabors "reaction", a vague term designed to cover whatever the reader hates most; he promises to "break the hold of international finance upon this country", (speech of June 28) and so directs the hostility of the workers and farmers against nameless persons outside Canada.

Promises Everything

Herridge wants to make capitalism work. He promises to do away with unemployment, provide minimum wages and prices, pay all debts, control the monopolies, and regulate imports and exports by increasing the purchasing power of the masses. As to the way in which he will achieve this, not a word. Like the old line capitalist parties, he is all promises, deliberately vague and indefinite.

His whole program is a fraud because it rests on the false assumption that there can be national recovery in Canada. Capitalism throughout the world is decaying; unemployment and wars are the most pungent odours of its decay. And Canada is but a cog in the machinery of world economy.

There has been "national recovery" for the bankers, the mortgage and insurance companies and the great monopolies, but there are still a million people on relief. And Herridge, being an intelligent student of affairs as well as an astute politician, knows all this. There must be another motive for his generous offer of a "home and a car" for every Canadian.

Creation Of The Tories

In spite of his statement on July 3rd. to the Saskatchewan convention

(continued on page 7)

A NOT UNFORGOTTEN PAST

Who thinks that Herridge actually has not had a go at running the country? Just listen to Charles Vining's quips in the "Bigwigs" written in 1933 when Bennett was still in power.

* * *

"He (Herridge) has had more to do with governing the country during the last three years than anyone except Mr. Bennett, and is probably the closest approach to a phenomenon in Canadian politics".

* * *

"He has a house in Ottawa and a country place in the Gatineau Hills where he likes to get into the woods by himself and chop down trees".

* * *

"When the 1930 elections came along . . . he toured the country as Mr. Benntt's Chief-of-Staff, helped to formulate the Canada First policy, wrote speeches and pretty well ran the Conservative show".

* * *

"After the victory he was described by Mr. Bennett as the man who made him Prime Minister . . ."

* * *

"He rates, however, as an excellent mixer and talks almost too well".

ACROSS THE LINE

The American Scene

—By Blake Lear—

At its convention in July the Socialist Workers' Party organized its agitation on the campaign principle.

This means that for periods of six weeks at a time the entire party will throw all its forces into campaigns based on our transitional demands.

Every aspect of the campaign is highly organized on a national scale. For instance, the aims of the first campaign, centered around the slogan, "LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!" are the following: (1) The distribution of 15,000 copies of the pamphlet, "Let the People Vote on War!" by James Burham, (2) the securing of 25,000 signatures to the petition to congress for a people's vote on war, (3) the raising of $5,000 — one-half of our contemplated anti-war fund—by September 15, (4) the distribution of 100,000 four page leaflets, (5) the raising of the circulation of the Socialist Appeal by 1,000, (6) the holding of a weekly outdoor meeting by each branch and one indoor mass meeting during the course of the campaign.

Anti-War Party

The striking success of the campaign so far shows that the campaign method is the ideal one for the mobilization of the forces of the party in the most complete and efficient way.

The aim of each of the particular campaigns is part of the whole approach of our party at this time—to make ourselves known as the anti-war party.

The war question is today the question of all questions. When congress adjourned Roosevelt indicated that war might break out in Europe before it would reconvene. And everything that the government does is based on participation in the coming war. The defeat of Roosevelt by congress on many points—the reorganization bill, the supreme court expansion proposal, the attempted "purge" of the democratic party, etc.—was the sign of the failure of new deal reforms and at the same time indicated that the only way out of the crisis for the government is to participate in a new world war for the division of the world market.

It is upon this analysis that our anti-war agitation is based—and it is this critical situation that will guarantee its success.

Campaign Against Fascism

Accompanying the drift to the right is the bold emergence of the fascist movement. At its head stands the priest, father Coughlin. His credo is the worst sort of anti-semitic, anti-communist, anti-labor filth. Heretofore he has chiefly propagandized over a large hook-up of radio stations. Now, however, he is falling into the well-known fascist pattern of open agitation and violence.

In New York and other large cities his rag Social Justice is hawked in the streets under the kindly protection of the cops, who weekly arrest salesmen of anti-fascist literature. Coughlin's followers have stabbed people in New York; wrecked the Debs School, a socialist party organization; and have attempted to invade the headquarters of the Socialist Workers' Party.

Coughlin Backs Dow'n

For Saturday, August 19, the Coughlinites had announced a parade on Union Square in New York City—a deliberately provocative act, for Union Square is the traditional meeting place of radical groups and is the gateway to the Jewish and working class section of New York.

The Socialist Workers' Party issued 200,000 leaflets calling on workers to mobilize and protest against these fascist gangsters. An appeal was also issued to the communist party for joint action. This bold initiative showed the cowardly fascists that they were up against the grimly determined opposition of the New York workers. Stricken with cold feet, first Coughlin himself, then his Christian Front, and his shock-troops, the Christian Mobilizers, under Coughlin's orders withdrew from the parade. The Socialist Workers' Party then called on the workers to clinch this anti-fascist blow by turning their counter-parade into a victory demonstration.

S.W.P. Runs Independent Candidates

In New York City, and in other cities where the possibilities exist, the S.W.P. is running independent candidates for office. The striking results obtained in Newark, New Jersey, last year show what possibilities exist for genuine working-class candidates in this fall's elections. In New York City comrades Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine are running for city council posts.

Their program consists of the following points: the expropriation of the subways, the expropriation of the electric power monopoly, a twenty billion dollar low cost housing program, and adequate relief for those suffering from unemployment. Coupled with this will be the ever present themes of the fight against Coughlinism and the fight against war.

This is our program for the coming period. What do you think of it?

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Fight With The Socialist Workers League For:

1.—Complete independence from the British Empire and its imperialist war plans.
2.—Expropriate the "50 Big Shots".
3.—A two billion dollar federal works program at trade union rates.
4.—Bosses! pay trade union rates or give us your factories.
5.—Joint price control by workers and farmers committees.
6.—All war funds to the unemployed.
7.—Thirty dollar weekly old age, widows and disability pensions.
8.—Jobs for youth — not guns.
9.—Joint trade union councils.
10.—Workers defence guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
11.—An independent farmer-labor party against the boss class.

* * * * *

Lenin On War

"Our duty is to help make the revolutionary sentiments of the masses conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan, "Turn the imperialist war into civil war". (Lenin and Zinoviev: Socialism and War, August, 1915).....

* * * * *

Who Wants War?

The unofficial organ of the Canadian mining moguls, the Globe and Mail, has opened another of its attacks on King. It is impatient at his failure, as yet, to make an unequivocal declaration in favor of full support to Britain in the new war crisis.

But the Globe and Mail is well aware of the implications of the declaration that King made in Parliament last March 31. At that time he declared his allegiance to Laurier's principle, that is, "when Britain is at war, Canada is at war; there is no distinction. If Great Britain, to which we are subject, is at war with any nation, Canada becomes liable to invasion, and so Canada is at war".

In the same speech he made another statement that minced matters still less. "No country," he said, "has now or should be given any ground for counting that in the event of aggression against the United Kingdom this country has decided to stand aloof, decided against taking part if such a struggle were thrust upon her".

These declarations make it clear to anyone with half an eye that Canada is already committed to participate in the impending war.

But King has good reasons of his own for refusing to come out with such bold statements in every recurring war crisis. He knows that if the Cabinet's scheming with the imperialist gangsters to draw Canada into a war were revealed at the present stage, his political future would be blown to bits. The Canadian people, especially the French Canadians, would rise in a protest that would jar the jewels out of His Britannic Majesty's crown.

King was more genteel in his March declaration. He stated then that "consideration of the overwhelming importance of national unity.... has led this government to decline to make premature and inappropriate statements of possible belligerency", and that such statements could be made "only at the cost of passionate controversy and acute differences of opinion".

King has himself replied to the Globe and Mail. He is a more astute representative of Canada's 50 Big Shots than the Globe and Mail itself. He knows that a "premature" declaration of Canada's commitments would find the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people opposed to war.

The people are opposed to war because they know.....

WHO MAKES THE PROFITS

The facts speak for themselves. Let us look at some figures for 1916 alone.

Ford Motor Car Co. (Canada)	$3,202,678
Canadian Explosives	3,094,410
Northern Aluminum Co.	1,636,640
Nova Scotia Steel	1,487,125
Imperial Oil Co.	4,837,374
Steel Co. of Canada	2,210,343

The consumers industries, as distinguished from basic war material producers, scooped up just as luxurious profits. The packers wallowed in war-made dividends. On one item alone, Sir Joseph Flavelle raked in $1,635,344, during 1915-17, and the Wm. Davies Co. $3,304,560, for the same period—on bacon.

It is little wonder that King, as the agent of the 50 Big Shots hesitates to inform the people that once more they are to have the privilege of being slaughtered in the interests of Canada's financial moguls.

And the people know, once war breaks out..

WHO CONTROLS THE PRESS

A post-war booklet entitled, "Who Shall Rule?", disclosed the truth. It states that "unmistakable evidence of the Government's efforts to subsidize the agencies directing public opinion is disclosed by the payments to newspapers throughout the Dominion for arvertising and printing which in 1913-16 were as follows":

The Gazette, Montreal	$374,297
La Patrie, Montreal	$128,558
Mail and Empire, Toronto	$33,899
Telegram, Toronto	$11,460
Telegram, Winnipeg	$103,506

The bosses through their official hirelings pay the press to whip up fervid patriotic sentiment.

The workers must know....

WHO SHOULD BE FOUGHT

The toilers must know that it is the Big Shots, the bankers and industrialists, who want the war. It is their war; let them fight it. The fight of the workers is against these rulers of Canada. It is the capitalists who make all the profits; the millions of slaughtered mean nothing to these profit-driven gangsters. The masses have everything to lose in a war fought for these Big Shots; the masses have everything to gain in a struggle against them.

The revolutionary road is the only alternative for the workers and farmers not only in Canada, but throughout the world.

The Socialist Workers League stands as the vanguard in this struggle!

Turn the imperialist war into a civil war — against the bosses!

The Socialist revolution for life, peace and freedom!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE
YOUR ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY —
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS
YOU HAVE A WORLD TO WIN.

Liebknecht On War

"The main enemy of the German people is in Germany; German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjuction with THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIANS OF OTHER COUNTRIES AGAINST THEIR OWN IMPERIALISM.

Down with the war-mongers on both sides of the border! The slaughter of the people must end! Proletarians of all countries.. Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, for a socialist peace! THE MAIN ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY! (Leaflet inssued by Karl Liebknecht in Germany, 1915).

* * * * *

Today, at last, the world can see quite plainly the real meaning of the Moscow Trials.

Stalin's pact with Hitler! Stalin's blessing on the most savage, hideous political force in recorded history! Stalin's signal for Nazism to advance with a free hand, and to yoke ever more tens of millions of workers and peasants beneath the Nazi chains. The mask is off at last!

One by one, by tens and dozens and hundreds and thousands, Stalin butchered. By frame-up in open court or in dark rooms in black night, in concentration camps or the cellars of the Lubianka, the guns of the GPU smoked. Zinoviev and Smirnov and Kamenev and Bukharin, Pyatakov, Mrachkovsky.. all who remained of those who had led the great revolution, all Lenin's comrades and colleagues, those who had been the flower of the dead party which Stalin murdered, fell before the assassin of the Kremlin.

And, month by month, the staff of the Red arm and navy, the mighty heroes of the civil war, those who had, starving and ragged, met and conquered the hordes of the counter-revolution and the armies of all the imperialist pawers, were slaughtered by Stalin—by hundreds, by thousands, by tens of thousands.

These were the allies of Hitler, the agents of the Gestapo, the plotters of a "German orientation"! So said Vyshinsky — and the paid and unpaid hirelings and prostitutes of the unspeakable tyrant of the Kremlin!

And now, with its fierce, terrible irony, history pulls aside the curtain: it is Stalin, Stalin the well-beloved, the eagle, the lion, the rain and the sun, who embraces Hitler over the bones of the workers of Europe.

Why the trials, and the ravaging purges? It is easy to understand now.

Stalin, the destroyer of the socialist revolution, the leader and defender of the power and the privileges of the new expoiters!

To destroy the revolution, to march hand in hand with the world symbol of the counter-revolution, Stalin had first to destroy all those who made the revolution, to smash the living bearers of the tradition of the revolution, to root out every potential venter of that opposition which would arise from among the masses as Stalin's counter-revolution had to come into the open for its last stages.

Only by blood, by rivers and torrents of blood, could the new exploiters advance toward the consolidation of their ne wpower and privilege over the masses.

Let us hear now from the defenders of the Trials! They know now that they defended: the alliance with Hitler, the free hand for Hitler.

MINERS STRIKE ON EVE OF WAR

By K. ALEXANDER

GLACE BAY, N.S. -- Foremost among the militant fighters of Canada are the mine workers of Nova Scotia. During my brief stay here I have had several opportunities of witnessing how quickly and with what solidarity they rally to defend the rights of co-workers. The bosses, particularly that octopus of coal, the Dominion Coal and Iron, have a healthy respect for a Union that will not hesitate to call out a thousand men and shut down a mine to protect a single workman from petty discrimination. So, when one man had his home (company-owned) sold over his head, and when another did not get a promised increase, two separate mines were closed down to enforce rapid redress. On Aug. 29, the thousand increased to nine thousand as pit after pit struck in sympathy.

The U.M.W.A. is affiliated to the C.C.F. The great tradition of Jim MacLachlan, still revered around Glace Bay and Sydney, has always kept the union orientated towards political action as the ultimate solution of the miners' problems. But it is to be hoped that the U.M.W.A. will not content itself with mere affiliation to the C.C.F. The Union can play a great role in building a left wing within the C.C.F. in Nova Scotia.

Work With The C.C.F.

While the Socialist Workers League does not advocate working within the C.C.F. in those parts of the country where the C.C.F. is no more than the gathering place of disgruntled old-party burocrats and muddled liberals, it does not close its eyes to the fact that in other sections the C.C.F. enjoys a sounder mass basis, and it is there that the revolutionary can do a great educational work within the C.C.F., particularly in contrasting the out-dated reformism of the official C.C.F. platform with demands more in keeping with present-day reality. And the unionists who believe in the things that Jim MacLachlan stood for are bound to fight for these ideas in the political arena, which in Nova Scotia happens to be the C.C.F.

The S.W.L. stands prepared to give whatever assistance lies within its power to that struggle and its organ, SOCIALIST ACTION, welcomes news or articles from Glace Bay and Sydney district that may help to carry on the fight.

With the world tottering on the brink of War from day to day—we cannot even say whether these words will be printed under a war censorship — we must hasten to link all militant forces for the decisive struggle that is upon us. The miners of Nova Scotia are an important section of those forces.

Adrift From The Herridge Movement

(Special to Socialist Action)

EDMONTON, Alta.—Zigging and zagging yet again the Alberta section of the C.P. of C. has broken adrift from the Herridge movement and started to nominate its own candidates for the federal elections. This is "explained" in an article by provincial C.P. chairman Jan Lakeman, carried in the Weekly Carrion, Aug. 19. But at time of going to press other Stalinist provincial sections are still on the Tory bandwagon, and even Lakeman is still lamenting that he and his cohorts could not stay in the Tory-Sacred fold of Herridge-Aberhart.

Another Revolt in C.P.

Two reasons are given for the break:

(1) Because the Herridge movement in Alberta is only another name for the Social Credit Party and all efforts of the C.P. of C. to get in on the Herridge-Aberhart nominations have been spurned.

(2) Because the C.C.F.—striking out independently—"is a growing institution".

A third reason could be given by Mr. Lakeman. Members and former supporters of the C.P. of C. have again revolted. Their doubts concerning the Herridge coalition have long been known. Recently they have been more loudly expresed. In fact, the new growth of the C.C.F. is partly due to an exodus from the Stalinist camp.

Once again, western toilers have demonstrated that they want to act as a class in the elections.

The Worker's Angle on War

(continued from page 3)

A Third Power

Seven small nations of Europe, speaking through the King of Belgium, have warned that "the war will know neither victor nor vanquished but will bring economic collapse". True—but what will follow collapse? Chaos and barbarism —or socialism? That depends on you and us, workers of the world. We can do no better than quote here a leading article in the Socialist Appeal, organ of the growing Socialist Workers Party of the United States, our comrades across the border:

"There is a THIRD power in the world—the revolutionary working class. Its voice is weak now, but IT WILL BE HEARD—as it was in 1917 and 1918 when it spoke out with the million-tongued voice of the masses and changed the course of world history..... Our Party is the Anti-War Party. We say that not as a boast but as the statement of a responsibility. No one is seriously competing with us for the possession of that dangerous post. To the worker who reads the newspaper headlines with growing dismay and fear, we say: HERE IS YOUR PLACE IF YOU WANT TO ENLIST IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR!"

Democracy Scrapped

The bosses know they must force war on us. That is why they used their parliamentary puppets, "labor" and lord, to revive the Defense of the Realm Act in one day—thus scrapping all the British democracy you are asked to fight for, all that "democracy" which has never been granted to the hundred million British negroes or the 350 million British Indians. That is why King has already announced that Canada's parallel War Measures Act of 1914 IS STILL IN FORCE.

And do not be lulled by those who say victory will restore British democracy. The day of liberal bourgeois democracy has closed forever The capitalist system will not weather through another holocaust. It will collapse. We must launch the fight now which will lead to its replacement by international socialism. Otherwise our civilization ends, and with it our lives and those of all we hold dear.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE
YOUR ENEMY IS IN YOUR OWN COUNTRY
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO L... BUT YOUR CHAIN...
YOU HAVE A W...

More About Tory Herridge

(continued from page 5)

of the New Democracy movement that he was "not the creature of some reactionary aiming to split the progressive vote", Herridge is still the belated creation of the Tories. He is cast in the image of his predecessor, Stevens of the Reconstructionist graveyard. At the 1935 elections, when radical sentiment among the workers and farmers, under the impact of the depression, had reached a peak, Stevens was sent out by the Tories to prevent the radical vote from swinging to the parties of the left. Today, Stevens, his duty to the party nobly done, lounges in a corner of the Conservative fold.

Herridge is playing the same role today. The Tories are virtually nonexistent on the prairies. But the increasingly discontented farmers and workers of the west must be directed away from the Liberal Party and the C.C.F.; away from the Liberals because it will weaken them to the advantage of the Conservatives; away from the C.C.F. and independent working class candidates in order to forestall a fighting labor-farmer representation in Parliament.

Diverting Discontent

This is why Herridge spends 95% of his time in the west. The Tories are still strong in the East; the radical sentiment of the west must be diverted into harmless channels. Tomorrow, after the elections, Herridge, like Stevens, can find his way back to the warm Conservative fireside.

The Communist Party has swung solidly behind Herridge's "join me" campaign. Here we have the first concrete example in Canada of the Popular Front that betrayed the workers so disastrously in Spain and failed to stem the rising tide of reaction in France.

The Communist Party joins hands with the New Democracy Movement in open support of capitalism.

Every member and sympathizer of the Communist Party should know exactly what Herridge stands for when they advocate support of his program.

After The Same Bone

At Port Arthur Herridge condemned "all economic and political teachings which defy Christian faith". (Toronto Star, Aug. 17). This was just the first snarl of a dog at another mongrel after the same bone. Then Herridge really snapped at the Communist Party vitals when he declared, "the New Democracy believes that the present economic system, reformed and modernized, will by its effectiveness drive from Canada every foreign system, from fascism to Communism." (Toronto Star, Aug. 17). This is Herridge's reply to the wild huzzas with which the Communist Party welcomed him.

Despite Herridge's protestations to the contrary, the New Democracy is rapidly transforming itself from a vague movement into an organized party, based on the program laid down by Herridge. Since he avowedly opposes any changes in the structure of capitalist society and openly supports the capitalist class, any backing given a New Democracy candidate labels itself as support of capitalism.

This is not independent class action by the workers and farmers. Only the support of a candidate put forward by the workers and farmers themselves and running on a genuine labor program directed against the boss class can be called independent working class action in the elections.

BUILD THE ANTI-WAR PARTY

WORKERS OF CANADA! TODAY, AS IN 1914, YOU ARE BEING BETRAYED INTO WAR!

The Dominion Committee of the Canadian Communist Party (Clarion, Aug. 26)

LIES when it says this will be "a just war... a war in defense of democracy".

The TRUTH is that the imperialist bosses of Britain and France want to protect their profitable colonies by crushing their German-Italian rivals now.

The TRUTH is that "democracy" has never existed in their colonies and NO LONGER EXISTS IN BRITAIN OR FRANCE.

The Clarion editor (Aug. 26)

BETRAYS when he asks you to "defend the independence of Poland and preserve peace".

The TRUTH is that the Polish masses have no independence. They are ruled by reactionary landlords and army officers who have massacred Jews, outlawed the Communist Party, and deprived the millions of Ukrainians and other minorities of democratic rights.

The TRUTH is that only hypocrites talk of "preserving" peace by making war.

The Communist Party leadership

LIES when it says "the national security and territorial safety of Canada is imperilled" —

The TRUTH is that the Tim Bucks are aiding the Colonel Drews in fomenting a war hysteria —

CONFUSES when it blames Chamberlain for encouraging Hitler.

The TRUTH is that IT WAS STALIN WHO HASTENED THE CRISIS BY GIVING HITLER THE GO-AHEAD SIGNAL —

CONCEALS when it says the Stalin-Hitler deals are simple non-aggression and trade pacts.

The TRUTH is that Russia is commited to supplying Hitler with materials and REFUSING MATERIALS TO POLAND when war comes between them. Read article 2 of the "non-aggression pact (not printed in the Clarion).

The TRUTH is that STALIN has sabotaged his own fake "peace front" with the "democratic peace-loving countries".

The TRUTH is that TROTSKY WAS RIGHT when last October he predicted a treacherous deal between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Nazis.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

The Third International is dead. In Canada its leaders join with CCF leaders in preparing for enlistment in the army of the bosses.

BUT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL LIVES. Its Canadian section, The Socialist Workers League, calls for ENLISTMENT IN THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS in RESISTANCE to the coming war.

The CP's Dominion Committee demands that King declare for war without waiting for Parliament,

We stand for strike, boycott and other forms of organized independent working-class resistance to Canadian participation in the war.

We stand for the continued struggle to overthrow capitalism, against the main enemy, our own capitalists.

We stand for solidarity with the workers of Germany and Italy, against their fascist overlords. We declare that they will be aided in overthrowing their own governments by our fight here at home. We can not make socialists of them by shooting them.

CANADIAN WORKERS EVERYWHERE! JOIN WITH US IN BUILDING THE CANADIAN ANTI-WAR PARTY!

ONLY SOCIALISM CAN END WAR!

THE FIGHT FOR WORKING CLASS FREEDOM IS THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

ISSUED BY THE SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE
CANADIAN SEC. OF THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL

S O C I A L I S T A C T I O N

Organ of Socialist Workers's League (Canadian Sec.,4th Intern'l)

Vol. II, No.5A. Montreal, Sept., 1939 Price 5¢.

EXPLANATION TO SUBSCRIBERS AND READERS

On Sept. 2nd the printers, following the legal advice of Herbert [illegible] (CCF), refused to print our regular 8-page Sept. issue because of its Marxist stand against the new imperialist war. Determined to continue that stand, we here present a condensed edition of our Sept. issue brought up to date in accord with events to Sept.9th. In a short time we will resume printed form with a 4-page issue twice monthly. It is obvious that this undertaking necessitates greatly increased costs, not to speak of personal sacrifices by those engaged in editing and distributing our paper. We therefore call on all our readers for extra financial support. Do not, however, use the mails.

BOX 185 IS CANCELLED.

STALIN SURRENDER LAUNCHES SECOND WORLD WAR

WRITING THEMSELVES in history as the criminals who gave German fascism the signal to commence the new imperialist massacre, Stalin and his fellow-murderers of the Kremlin last month dealt the final death-blow to the 3rd international they had long since corrupted, by capitulating to the monstrous Hitler regime.

FIRST SEALING a trade pact to ensure raw materials reaching Hitler from Leningrad and the Baltic, the Stalin gang then announce a "non-aggression pact" with Hitler which might better be called a military alliance. The pact, unlike all previous ones involving the Workers' State, allowed no cancellation if Hitler went to war, and shackled Russia from giving Poland or any other enemy of Hitler supplies or support of any kind. At the moment of writing, the fascist armies are reported to be driving a wedge through smashed Poland to the Soviet border, and Stalin is rushing raw materials to the west prepared to dump them in Hitler's lap.

THE ARCH-TREACHERY of Stalinism has already disrupted even the cowed and purged remnants of Lenin's once great International. In France, rank and file CP members tore up their cards in the streets. Cachin and the other paid hirelings of Stalin, seeing themselves abandoned by him, refused to edit L'Humanité, and turned to open support of French imperialism. In the U.S.A., only other large section of the Third International except the terrorized puppet party in Russia, mass breakaways are occuring. The working-class section is repudiating the new open patriotism of Browder, and turning its face to the only hope of international socialism, the Socialist Workers' Party.

IN CANADA, several leaders have [illegible] party, while rank-and-filers walked out and, in Toronto, gave open support to "Trotskyist" street corner speakers until meetings were closed down by the police. Stewart Smith, though still cold-shouldered by the patriots, continues to protest shamelessly his support of the war and agitates only for a more efficient government than Chamberlain's for the murder of the German masses.

TO THE FOURTH Internationalists the Stalin-Hitler pact and the War have been a tragic fulfillment of their prophecies and a confirmation of their fourteen-year fight against Stalinism. The Betrayal began in 1925 when the Stalin opportunists took advantage of a temporary exhaustion of the Russian workers, weary with years of civil war, to supplant Leninism with the reactionary policy of "socialism-in-one-country-and-to-hell-with-the-world-revolution". Ousting Trotsky and tens of thousands of his Marxist-Leninist followers, Stalin manouvered and imposed a ruthless bureaucracy upon the Russian party and the Third International. His murderous gang then proceeded to sabotage the great Chinese revolution of 1925-7 in order to keep peace with British-French imperialism.

THEN, from 1928-33, fearing capitalist encirclement, Stalin forced ultra-left tacticson the whole international outside Russia, causing thousands of brave revolutionists to sacrifice their lives in useless putsches against hopeless odds, in order that the capitalists might be too occupied at home to attack Russia. Unable, because of such tactics, to form united fronts with other working class parties, the CP of Germany fought its fellow-workers while Hitler marched to power between them.

THE NEXT STEP in Stalin's retreat was a desperate union with the social democrats and liberal capitalists (whom he had just been denouncing as the "twins of fascism") in order now to "stop Hitler". In every country the 3rd International was forced to adopt a policy of feeble reformism, fake-pacificism and open patriotism, so that a "popular front" of the "peaceloving democratic nations" (Britain and France!) might be built against Hitler and Mussolini. To preserve this, Stalin stood by while the fascist powers destroyed the Spanish revolution and gobbled Ethiopia, Albania and Czechoslovakia, and while Japan ravaged China.

WITHIN RUSSIA itself Stalin's policy of capitulation led step by step, not to socialism but, to the restoration of class distinctions, increasingly unequal wages, piece-work and convict-labor systems, destruction of trade union power, autonomy of national minorities, and finally to the physical destruction of all resisting Bolshevik forces. Hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers were jailed, murdered out of hand or shot after frame-up trials. Stalin spared no one: Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Piatikov -- and the heads of the great Red Army itself.

BUT BY SUCH murderous betrayals Stalinism only forced itself towards the final capitulation. Realizing that British and French imperialism would not save his face with a second Munich but were determined to plunge into war to crush resurgent German imperialism, and knowing that the Russian workers whom he had ravaged and terrorized would sieze the opportunities of war to overthrow his

own regime, Stalin capitulated to Hitler himself. By this arch-treachery he has kept his power for a few more months, at the cost of plunging the worlds' workers into another imperialist blood-bath. Without Russian economic support Hitler would either not have dared invade Poland or would have done so at the cost of swift economic collapse.

AND JUST AS the policy of socialism-in-one-country has led Russian economy back to the margin of capitalism and a class-society, so the policy of "peace-in-one-country" is leading as swiftly to imperialist war on Russia. If Hitler extends fascist domination to the Russian borders he will, eventually, not stop there Stalin will have to surrender the Ukraine or fight, and he does not dare to fight. He cannot trust the Red Army, he has failed to win a single capitalist ally except the treacherous arch-enemy of his State, Hitler Germany, and he has destroyed as much as he could of his historical class-ally, the revolutionary working-class movement of the world.

THE ONLY HOPE for Russia now lies in the junking by the Russian workers of the counter-revolutionary gang, and the overthrow of the war-making capitalist governments by the working-class of all countries under the banner of the Fourth International.

Editorial.

WAR IS HERE -- WHAT NOW?

Workers of Canada! Today, as in 1914, you have been betrayed into another useless world-slaughter.

Once more the Canadian capitalists, the high-salaried generals, the profiteering politicians, the hired press, the jingoists of all stripes are pouring out their lying propaganda, pretending that this too is "a war to save democracy", a war to end war, "a just war".

Once more the treacherous labor-leaders, the fake-Christian persons the well paid old men in universities, the bourgeois women's clubs, are joining in the hue and cry to get Canadian workers to die that they may keep their jobs and their profits.

Once more the social-democrats go over to the camp of the workers' enemy. The CCF leaders support the war or take refuge in useless individualistic pacifism. This time they are joined in treachery by the bogus "communists", the Stewart Smiths and other paid mouthpieces of the arch-traitor Stalin. Deserted by him they have become the chief defenders of the new imperialist war in the ranks of the workers.

But all is not lost. In 1914 one small workers' party, the party of Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks, stood true to the principles of international socialism. Out of their struggle came the first Workers' State and a new movement of world revolt which eventually stopped the war. In 1939, the same principles are guarded by an even stronger force, the Fourth International, with sections in twenty countries, proudly acknowledging the theoretical leadership of Leon Trotsky, Lenin's co-leader in the great Russian Revolution.

In Canada, we of the Socialist Workers' League sound the call to all socialists to join with us in building, under the banner of the Fourth International, the anti-war party. We proclaim the necessity of a

Editorial (cont'd.)

Workers' and Farmers' Government in Canada to end Canadian participation in the Second World War and to prepare the way for socialism here in Canada in our time.

A WAR FOR DEMOCRACY ?

Workers, this is not our war! The bosses lie; their new lackeys, the Stewart Smiths, lie; this is NOT "A WAR IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY" (Clarion, Aug.26). Even the limited democratic rights which the workers of Britain, France and Canada have secured by decades of struggle are gone now. Daladier months ago suspended the French parliament till 1942! Chamberlain rules by Cabinet decree and military law. In Canada we are already under the iron grip of the War Measures Act and other martial decrees which have wiped away the rights of free speech, press, and other organization. These liberties will never be restored by the rotting capitalist system.

The British and French Empires are not democracies, but dictatorships over hundreds of millions of colonial serfs, black, brown and yellow. Their imperialist governments have gone to war because they want to stop rising German imperialism from grabbing back some of the spoils they took from it in the last World War; because they will lose profits if Germany extends her trade influence in Europe; and because they have no other way of ending mass unemployment and economic depression at home.

A WAR TO DEFEND POLAND ?

THIS IS NOT A WAR TO "DEFEND THE INDEPENDENCE OF POLAND" (Clarion, Aug.26; Globe & Mail, Aug.28; etc.). The Polish masses have never had independence. They are ruled by reactionary landlords, anti-Soviet army generals, and the like, who have deprived the millions of Ukranians and other minorities of democratic rights, massacred Jews, and outlawed long ago the Communist Party and other working-class organizations. The independence of the Polish people can be secured only by the successful overthrow of the capitalist rulers in both Poland and Germany by the united action of the Polish and German workers and peasants.

A WAR TO END WAR ?

THIS IS NOT A WAR TO "PRESERVE PEACE" (Clarion, Aug.26) or "enforce peace", or etc. Like the last World War, it will result only in another straitjacketing of the defeated powers by the conquerors, as at Versailles, and so on to a Third World War or to the entire collapse of civilization -- UNLESS THE WORKING CLASS OF THE WORLD OVERTHROWS THE WARMAKERS AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WHICH INEVITABLY BREEDS WAR.

A WAR TO STOP FASCISM ?

Capitalism cannot stop fascism -- it IS fascism. A victory for British-French imperialism might mean the end for Hitler but it will leave Germany (and probably Britain & France also) so broken and dismembered that the capitalists of each country will be compelled to set up fascist states everywhere to muzzle the wrath of war-torn workers. Fascism in Germany arose out of the last defeat of Germany. It will rise again unless the workers take power in Germany and are supported

Editorial (cont'd.)

by the workers' struggle for power in the other warring countries. Finally, the War has already brought Britain, France and Canada immeasurably nearer to fascism through the military dictatorships already set up in these countries, Fascism is capitalism in decay and can be ended only by socialism. We will not help the German masses to overthrow Hitlerism by murdering them in the armies of British IMPERIALISM.

HOW TO STOP THE WAR.

Workers, do not under-rate your power! Without the mining of nickle and copper, the manufacturing of planes, or even simply without the means of transporting these death-dealing materials to the sea, Canadian capitalism can make no war profits, must fail to fuel the European furnace. Key strikes can hamper the war machine. Resistance to conscription, which occurred on a mass scale in Quebec in the last War, can be organized and extended across Canada. The Canadian people DO NOT WANT THIS WAR. They have had no voice in its declaration. They can be organized, on farm and in factory. A spark lighted here would be the signal for the resistance of our brothers in South Africa -- whose reluctance to enter the war has already been shown -- to our brothers in the other commonwealths and colonies, in the warring countries of Europe, in the United States -- where Roosevelt daily prepares to drag more millions into war.

But resistance must be organized, must be led by an anti-war party which is also the party of socialism, which speaks with the voice of the masses.

WORKERS JOIN WITH US TO BUILD THAT PARTY.
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!
ONLY SOCIALISM CAN END WAR!
THE FIGHT FOR WORKING-CLASS FREEDOM
IS THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR!

THE CANADIAN BOSSES KNOW THEIR ENEMY

DURING THE first two weeks of the war, even while King continued to pretend that Canada was not already committed to war -- while CCF leaders were permitted to confer as to what particular phraseology they would use to justify their treacherous support of the war -- while Stewart Smith protested his patriotism in the Toronto City Council -- the real war-resisters were being muzzled. Even before Britain entered the War, King invoked the War Measures Act which prevented the legal publication of our paper. In addition a mass meeting called by the Socialist Workers' League on "The War and the Soviet Union" was stopped by the Toronto police, and the American speaker scheduled for the meeting was refused entry into Canada. For distributing our leaflet denouncing the Stalin-Hitler pact a worker-sympathizer was arrested on Aug.30, grilled in the cells, and warned against further activity on our behalf.

THIS IS but the beginning. Conant, Hepburn's Attorney-General, has asked Ottawa to restore the notorious Section 98, operate Section 99, and add special military defense clauses which will outlaw all "disloyal" parties -- that is, any party not in support of the Imperialist

War -- jail anyone who writes, speaks, or even thinks anything which might be construed as hostile to the King government, Chamberlain, th war or any of those conducting it.

It is now obvious that King delayed open war declaration because he knew that only by organized legal and military oppression could he "persuade" the mass of Canadians, and especially the masses in Quebec, to support the war. Even yet, with King's war-dictatorship beginning to operate, there is widespread spoken opposition to the war. The majority of the CCF Youth are said to have taken a position against the war, while large numbers of adult CCF are refusing to follow their leadership into patriotic betrayal of socialism, in shops, in factories, on farms, even in the streets of Tory Toronto, one can hear expressions of open skepticism as to the "democratic" ideals of Chamberlain and King, frank statement that Canadians have nothing to gain by fighting in Europe, and a general determination to refuse voluntary enlistment, and a desire to resist conscription.

BUT, though anti-war sentiment is strong in Canada -- much stronger than in 1914 -- the organized means of resistance are weak. The trade union leadership, -- for years the lackeys of capitalism in Canada -- shout their patriotism anxiously, and rank-and-file resistance is timid and unorganized. War-resisters in the CCF and Communist Party have still to break clearly with their now useless organizations and join with revolutionary socialists in building a united anti-war organization in this country. The Socialist Workers' League alone stands firmly for the continuation of the class-struggle during capitalist war.

WHO GAINS IN CANADA FROM IMPERIALIST WAR ?

Let the facts of 1914-18 speak:
50,000 ordinary Canadians lost their lives.
100,000 received slow-death wounds or permanent injuries.
The masses at home endured high prices & food shortage while the war lasted, and economic depression, unemployment etc. as soon as it ended.

BUT, in 1916 alone , the following firms made these profits:

Ford Motors of Canada	$3,202,678
Canadian Explosives	3,094,410
Northern Aluminum Co.	1,636,640
Nova Scotia Steel	1,487,125
Imperial Oil	4,837,374
Steel Co. of Can.	2,210,343 .

AND, during 1915-17:
Sir Joseph Flavelle raked in $1,685,344 on one deal alone;
Wm. Davies Co. "made" $3,304,560 just by selling bacon to the army.

AND the patriotic press, apart from its own dividends, was handed subsidies by the Govt., 1913-16, in the form of special advts:

Montreal Gazette	$374,297
Montreal La Patrie	128,558
Winnipeg Telegram	103,506
Toronto Mail & Empire	33,899

R E M E M B E R

SOCIALIST ACTION

Official Organ, SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE Canadian Section 4th International

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C.P. FAKE "LEFT" TURN--CANADIAN VERSION

THE NEW "REVOLUTIONARY" PRESSURE ON THE ALLIED POWERS IS DICTATED BY THE MOSCOW LABOR FAKERS, IN THE INTERESTS OF THE STALIN-HITLER PACT

TORONTO: Canadian anti-war fighters may well be a little bewildered by the speed with which the ex-Communist Party of Canada has reversed its policy, begun speaking in "revolutionary" phrases, and met repressions by the capitalist state.

Sincere fighters against the criminal war between robber empires must ask themselves why, two months after its outbreak, these Stalinists belatedly beat their breasts, and denounce the Allies and the war. Their first ardent support of the "democracies" in the "just war against fascist aggression" is withdrawn, dropped like a hot potato. Some may wonder if the Communist Party is at last keeping a secret promise, so often hinted at by the leaders in the inner circles of the party, that, when "the crisis" came, they would let go full blast with the Leninist program of social revolution?

---NEW TURN DICTATED BY STALIN---

To accept the latest propaganda twist of the Stalinists at its face value would be a grave error. One has but to study the files of the Clarion since war broke out, to realize that the CP of C is merely parrotting its sister parties of the ex-Communist Interrational. Throughout all its apparent inconsistencies, the CP. is consistent only in its role of foreign agency of the Kremlin crew of labour fakers.

The pivot of the new turn was the Stalin Hitler pact, which was a thunderbolt to Stalins own parties abroad, and for a few days left them speechless. But the alibi machine was soon oiled up again; One day after Hitler invaded Poland, Tim Buck was spinning a fine web of apology about the pact, hailing it as a tremendous blow for peace "which would weaken the aggressor and prevent war".

CANADA SUFFERS A "TIME LAG"

Until at least Oct 14, the Clarion was still spouting the obsolete slogans of the "democratic peace front against Hitler aggression". Cecil Ed Smith, assistant editor of the Clarion enlisted in the army, and offered the services of the Mackenzie Papineau battalion to the government, saying; "We are fighting the same thing in this war as in Spain".

Tim Buck wired Premier King, urging full support to the Poles in resisting the Nazis, asking only for guarantees of free speech and organization to all those" who stand unconditionally for the defeat of fascism in this war.

---The Clarion Plays Follow The Leader---

By Sept 23 the Clarion had quietly slipped

(continued on page 3)

SUPPORT GROWS FOR ANTI-WAR MILITANT

---Forward with Watson Fund drive---

TORONTO: (Press release) Since the Committee sent out its first press release on Oct 31st, its members have been active in the circulation of a letter of appeal to some two hundred organizations and individuals in Canada in addition to mailing of the press release to some 75 newspapers and journals in Canada and a selected number in the United States and Great Britian.

Response has been gratifying even at this early date. A leading newspaper of the nations capital, the OTTAWA JOURNAL, devoted a sympathetic editorial to the Watson case on Nov.9 After summarizing the facts of the trial, the editor concludes that although Watson was "indiscreet", in the circumstances, a warning and suspended sentence would have been sufficient punishment. To put him in jail for a year seems far from the ideal of a punishment to fit the crime."

---WIDE SUPPORT FOR ANTI-WAR SPEAKER---

The CANADIAN FORUM, leading journal of liberal opinion in Canada, refers editorially in its November issue to the Watson case as "the most notable" of the prosecutions under the War Measures Act in Ontario, and links the case with that of 75 United Church clergymen who have been threatened with arrest for issuing a manifesto against war. "Canadians", says the editor, "are not all united in the approving of our participation in this war, and a wise government will not insist on too much enforced uniformity."

Three thousand miles away, in Victoria, British Columbia, the DEMOCRATIC BOOK CLUB has written its support for the work of the Watson Defence Fund and enclosed a cheque for Sixteen Dollars. Similiar

Editorial

A CONTEMPTIBLE FRAUD -- NOT A MISTAKE

In its recent "Peace" leaflet, the Communist Party of Canada indulges in some spurious self-criticism, stating it was "mistaken in the first weeks of the war in creating the illusion that this could be made a 'different kind of war". These opportunist illusions, the leaflet continues, "could only help the capitalists to create the confusion necessary for them to carry through their imperialist aims against the people".

On The Bandwagon Of "Democratic" Imperialism.

But the collective security line of the Comintern that led at first to its support of this 'different kind of war" was no mistake. The clique that rules Russia was trying to line up the so-called democracies behind it in order to maintain itself in power. That is why the Soviet clique ordered the national sections of the Comintern to woo their capitalist governments, to give up the class struggle for Socialism and in its place tie themselves up with such boss politicians as Herridge or King. The bureaucrats in the Soviet Union sold out the international revolution in the hope of winning support of one imperial bloc, that of Anglo-French capitalism.

The sole victors in this strange love-match were the English and French bosses; the Stalinsits everywhere exhorted the workers to act respectable and support boss parties. Stalin had tied the workers down to one imperialist camp in the vain hope that his services would be recognised in the form of an alliance with this capitalist bloc.

Handspring Over To Fascist Imperialists.

The Stalin-Hitler pact signified that Stalin had switched his allegiance from the "democratic" to the fascist imperialist gang. He had never really believed in all that bosh of an ideological war between "democracy" and fascism. Since the democracies had failed to cough up with an alliance the Stalinist clique turned to Hitler. Whereas prior to the Stalinazi pact, the CP had soft pedalled on its criticism of the democracies, today in obedience to the demands of their new ally they tone down their criticism of Hitlerism.

This new fake turn to the left is nothing more than a means of aiding Hitler. Instead of wooing the democracies the task of the various sections of the Communist Party, tools in the hands of the Soviet clique, lies in embarrassing the "democracies". This is why the Stalinists condemned the Allies for not accepting Hitler's peace overtures based on his own terms

A Workers' Peace

The workers and farmers want peace but not on Hitler's terms; nor for that matter on the conditions that the Allies would lay down. They want a peace that they themselves will impose on the capitalist slavedrivers of both imperialist camps; a peace that can be brought about only by the socialist revolution.

The Communist Party is just as incapable today of paving the way

(Concluded - page 4, col.2)

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* Owing to continued *
* police surveillance and the *
* difficulties of illegal *
* publication we are forced *
* to continue mimeographing *
* SOCIALIST ACTION. *
* Our subscribers and *
* friends will, we are sure *
* understand and continue to *
* push the sales of this *
* journal, the only revolut- *
* ionary socialist organ in *
* Canada. *
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C.P. FAKE "LEFT" TURN --

(cont'd from page 1)

ff its outmoded "democratic dress. Already Hitler had completed his conquest of Poland, Stalin had annexed White Russia and the Western Ukraine. Hitler was making peace proposals, tentatively backed by Russia. Already the New York Daily Worker had appeared on Sept. 19th with a manifesto of the American CP's national committee. Reversing its previous war-mongering support of Roosevelt and the Allies, the CP of U.S. denounced both sides in the "second Imperialist War", crying "Keep America out of War!"

The Clarion of Sept.23 followed suit with an acid editorial hitting at the reactionary Polish and Allied governments. The Polish government, hitherto wooed by the Stalinists stood suddenly revealed as reactionary land-lord capitalist regime "which could not be depended upon to save the Polish masses from Hitler's armies, but deserted the people". The same editorial jibes at the "holy war of the Allies to save Polish independence" which the "perfidious Tories now admitted could not have been saved anyway."

Frightening The Allies To Make Peace

Now in the Clarion, a new undertone of mock-revolution swells louder from issue to issue. The editorials began to matter about an independent working class movement, and the need for "defeating Hitlerism abroad by making democracy work at home." By Oct.14, nearly one month after the appearance of the American manifesto on the new line, the Clarion begins to ask "What are Canada's War Aims?" This same issue reprints the demand of the British CP that the government call a "world peace conclave." The British statement declares that: "this war is a fight of imperialist powers over profits and colonies,

(cont'd - page 4,col.1)

SUPPORT GROWS FOR ANTI-WAR MILITANT

(cont'd from page 1)

support and a donation has come from the SCARBORO WOMEN'S CO-OPERATIVE GUILD, from farmers in Wisetcn, Sask from a worker in Saskatoon, Sask., and from other individuals of varying occupations and political views in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

Fund Welcomes New Friends

The personnel of the Defence Committee has been extended by the welcome addition of Dr.Carlyle King, member of the Provincial Council of the Saskatchewan CCF, and a professor in the University of Saskatchewan.

In addition, great encouragement has been given the committee by the support of the AMERICAN LABOUR AID in New York City, as the result of a strong campaign for the Watson case launched by the SOCIALIST APPEAL, organ of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.A. A donation of twenty-two dollars has already been received from this committee and has been welcomed as a gesture of international solidarity in the defence of civil liberties. Most notable among the supporters of Watson from the American side is James T.Farrell, famous novelist, author of Studs Lonican and other works. In a statement to the American press Mr. Farrell is quoted as saying: "I agree with the statement that democracy is the first casualty of the war (a statement alleged to have been made by Watson in his speech). The information on the Watson case which has been supplied me by the American Labour Aid is a clear-cut illustration of this. On this basis I support the appeal for funds to defend Watson. I hope others will realize this is an important defense case and join me in adopting this position."

Will Defend Other Victims of War Measures

(cont'd - page 10,col.1)

(cont'd from page 5)
workers of Finland to rise up and overthrow their own capitalist masters--both of which steps were taken by Lenin and Trotsky when the revolutionary armies invaded Georgia and Poland after the October revolution--Stalin merely exhorts the Finnish workers to...overthrow their Premier!(sic) Stalin fears a workers revolution in Finland just as much as he does Hitler. A revolution in Finland would infuse new blood into the workers of the Soviet Union, give them fresh courage to put an end to the Stalinist rule of terror. Caught in a trap, Stalin can offer the Finnish workers only a "democratic republic that promises to introduce progressive land reforms etc.

Stalin Alienates Workers

Since the Stalinist clique must refrain from moving the Finnish workers to revolution and could not offer the workers a real explamation for the invasion, Stalin employed an old expedient; patent lies, the most facile weapon of a degenerating bureaucracy. Socalled border incidents were manufactured or magnified until the "honor" of the Soviet Union lay at stake. Even Stalin must have realized the hollowness of his claims the very moment he put them forward: his tactic differed from that of Hitler only in their more glaring crudeness. The direct result of these fraudulent explanations for the invasion was to alienate the workers of Finland and to rally them around the Finnish capitalists. Forced by the very nature of his rule to use totalitarian tactics, Stalin at the same time lost the only ally that he might have had in Finland.

War Is Against Soviet Union

Opposed as we are to the invasion of Finland in this bureaucratic fashion, revolutionary socialists must still make a Marxist analysis of the situation as it exists today. The war between the Soviet Union and Finland takes on the character of an imperialist war against the U.S.S.R. No one can believe that Finland would dare to have resisted the Red Army without the reassuring support of one bloc of imperialists, in this case Britain and France. In actual fact we must recognise that the fight the Finnish bourgeoisie is waging against the Soviet Union represents the initial, as yet tentative, move of the imperialist powers against the victory won in the October Revolution. The nature of the attacks launched in the censored press indicates only too clearly what the war-lords have in mind. As Chamberlain informed the House of Commons on Nov.28: "None of us know how long this war will last, in what direction it will develope or when it is ended, who will be standing at our side and who against us." This is a clear sign that Chamberlain does not place as a remote possibility a realignment of forces that would see the Soviet Union on one side and all the large capitalist powers on the other.

Marxists have never characterized a war by determining who is the "aggressor"; the mere fact that the Soviet Union launched the initial military offensive in this war with Finland does not change the nature of the war in the slightest. It is basically a capitalist war against the Soviet Union. As this war developes it may give the Allie an opportunity to come to terms with Germany, on condition that a general offensive be launched by both Germany and the Allies against the Soviet Union.

Defend The Workers State

Advanced workers have always recognised that the aim of the workers to overthrow the Kremlin clique must be subordinated to another more vital objective; the preservation of the gains won by the October Revolution. We must at all times carry on the struggle against the ruling clique in the USSR which stifles the developement of the socialist economy, saps the strength of the workers just as a reactionary trade union bureaucracy perverts the militancy of the

(concluded on page 10.col.2)

Editorial

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* Adapted from The New *
* International, monthly *
* organ of revolutionary *
* Marxism, November 1939 *
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THE WAR NOBODY WANTS

When We Reflect on the puzzlement, and even impatience, of very many persons that the second world war, in its first seven weeks, failed to get really going, we should begin by noting what has nevertheless happened: One nation, of 36,000,000 inhabitants, has been wiped off the map. Three others have been reduced to satellites, provinces even, of a greater power. According to some estimates, the destruction of building railroads, highways, tilled fields, and so on, has equalled that of the western campaign during the entire four years of the first world war. The loss in ships has been at a rate above anything reached in the first world war until February, 1917. There have been, at a minimum, several hundred thousand casualties. To regard all this as merely a preliminary by-play is simply indirect recognition of the universal understanding that this new war is the most terrible event in the history of humanity, compared to which the first world war was not much more than a dress rehearsal.

Why No Military Action

Nevertheless, the conduct of the war so far needs explanation. It is a factthat, with the exception of the Polish invasion there has been no major action. Why not? There **are two chief causes:**

The first, and primary, cause for temporizing is that no one wants the war; or, more exactly, that no government, no ruling class, no responsible diplomat wants the war. What has any of them to gain from a general war now? Hitler? Why possibly should he want the war? He has most of Poland; he overshadows the Balkans: He needs a digesting period; he would wish to consolidate his base for the next stage in expansion. He must expand, of course, but war is the most expensive means and above all the most dangerous means; He knows--he said so in the Reichstag "peace appeal"--that in many wars there only losers; he knows the chances that his internal regime will crack in a long war.

All Fear The Masses

Stalin? He fears a long war most of all, for he knows by direct experience what the armed people can do to their tyrants in the course of war, and he knows the present hate of the masses.

Chamberlain? Britain can only lose by the war. The European battle-**front** is not decisive for England. The little island already has her hands much more than full with the vast territories of the Empire; it cannot even wish for more possesions And England knows that it will **not** even retain much of these present possessions whatever the outcome. Th immediate "declarations of war" by India, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand did not deceive Chamberlain. There is already **every** proof that the masses in India are not going to be swung behind this w after the lessons of the last; many indications, on the contrary, that in spite of Ghandi the Indian worke and peasants are getting ready to u the war crisis in order to strike o for freedom. And already in the United States Congress (half-joking today) there is talk about "independence" for Canada. Or Daladier? The position of France is only a soiled edition of England's. Franc enters the **war** reduced to a second-class power by the events of the past six years; she can scarcely hope to hold even this rank, howeve the war goes. And the workers in both England and France are unenthusiastic even in the beginning. Into what attitude will so negative a feeling change as deaths and prices mount?

(cont'd on page 8)

(cont'd from page 7)

Editorial:

THE WAR NOBODY WANTS.

Imperialism in a Blind Alley

Why, then, if these things are so, do they let themselves be drawn step after irrevocable step, into this war that nobody wants? Their fears make for the delay, all hesitate to begin fully, but no one says the word that would close the ever-widening breach.

Alas, they do not want war, but they cannot permit peace. Their dilemma is not a logical abstraction but a concrete blind alley. Consider it as Chamberlain must see it: all that is true about the war, but Hitler has shown fully by now that he cannot be content with less than a hegemony which would drive England out of the world-imperial sun; to give him his peace would mean only to admit, in advance, his victory. For Daladier, to make peace would be merely to give formal sanction to Germany's dominance over the Continent, and France's withdrawal to the wings of the imperial stage. And Hitler must (he, again, has himself told us) "expand or die"; since he cannot expand further by words, he must now do so with bombs. Nor is Stalin less rudely jammed against the wall. Begging only, from the depths of his provincial heart, that the "foreign" pigs should keep their snouts from his Russian garden so that his own may, without interference, grub more deeply, Stalin finds himself sucked into the imperialist vortex which he thought he could manipulate to his advantage from the outside. You must choose, said Berlin; fight with us or against us. London offered only the same choice. And, since long ago Stalin drew a line of blood between himself and the only other camp--the proletarian camp, opposed equally to both Berlin and London--Stalin has no third choice.

As imperialism comes to the last fork in its road, it sees that both branches lead alike to the abyss.

War Is Continuous

There is a second factor which has held off grand-scale military operations. War, we say often enough, is the continuation of politics by other means; perhaps we should rather say that war is continuous among imperialist powers, and in this continuous war armed conflict figures as simply one--often not by itself the decisive--means among many others. The war has not, in reality, been idle during these seven weeks. But its great battles have been fought in the chancelleries and in the offices of technicians and economic experts, not on the western front. The oil of Rumania, the grain of Hungary and Yugoslavia, free passage through the Dardenelles are more important than a battleship. Repeal of the United States arms embargo weighs more heavily for Paris and London than the Saar.

The Labour Bureaucracy Enters The War

The war, already dominant over all other issues in the life of the entire world. In Canada, lines are being redrawn with a sharpness that mirrors the battlefront.

The Leadership of the Trades and Labour Congress, CF of L, ACC of L, and Confederation of Catholic Workers pledged itself to its traitor role, by supporting the war, and once more proved how true it is that the labour bureaucracy is the agent of imperialism.

In the one camp we have the Moore-Mosher-Burford gang of labour fakers representing British-French imperialism; in the second camp, the Stalinists representing the Hitler-Stalin axis. There is nothing more than this. The democratic anti-fascist pretensions on one side, the new pro-peace, "anti-imperialist war demagogy of the other, are equally lies.

And what of the third camp? Not much appears about it, yet, in the public press; but in this war it is the third camp--the camp of the revolutionary proletarian struggle against the war and the war-mongers

(concluded on page 10, col.2)

Official Organ SOCIALIST ACTION SOCIALIST WORKERS LEAGUE Canadian Section 4th International

(1939 - Dec.)

AFTER DUPLESSIS

by Louis Gagnon

Montreal....Duplessis and his mob have gone, the old gang is back again, and the people of Quebec are now wondering whether they will be any better off.

Everyone has his own interpretation of the significance of Duplessis' defeat. The capitalist press throughout Canada hails it as a "triumph of National unity" in the pursuit of the war, blandly ignoring the fact that the Liberals fought the election on the "no-conscription" promise of their Federal members in Quebec province, headed by Mr.Lapointe. But, after all, Mr.Lapointe and his chief,Mr. King, have the best possible authority for ignoring such promises. Did not the high-minded President Wilson win his election on "Keep America out of War", and then promptly lead it into the last war? Only the simplest souls will credit King and Lapointe with more integrity than Wilson. They are loyal servants of their class, capable of carrying out whatever steps are necessary to safeguard Canadian capitalism. When conscription is necessary it will be imposed.

Not A Vote For War

It is a cynical lie to interpret the defeat of Duplessis as a vote for the war. True, St.James St. capital is at one with its fellow gangsters in the rest of Canada. And the Catholic Church has deserted Duplessis for the more formidable strength of the British Empire at war. Those were weights in the scale, great weights that had much to do with the landslide. But the factors that doomed the Duplessis machine to sure defeat were the combination of vicious labour legislation and anti-labour activity of the psuedo-fascist Duplessis Gov't together with its almost unparalled record of graft, corruption, and inefficiency. The two old-line parties have viewed the activity of the Duplessis machine these past few years with envy and admiration.

He has left them a target to shoot at and not much in the way of funds ammunition.

So, the workers and farmers of Quebec needs no urging from pulpit or platform to go out and cast their vote against Duplessis. The tragedy was that there was no decent alternative for them to choose. They will rid themselves of a vest-pocket dictator only to fall victim to the dictatorship of Ottawa--the War dictatorship.

Masters Change---
Exploitation Remains

Quebec province will not accept Ottawa's war dictatorship tamely. The workers and farmers of this province have little love for the government and system that keeps them at the lowest level of living in the whole country. The United States have their Negroes as the most exploited section of the population. Great Britain has her India. Canada has her French-Canadians. A strangulating Church does its best to keep this population cut off from its brothers in the rest of Canada and a predatory blood-sucking capitalism takes advantage of their isolation to impose its worst conditions of labour. The French-Canadian worker and farmer looks desperately about for an avenue of escape. The War, with its additional threat of final extinction is the goad that can spur the workers and farmers of Quebec into active resistence.

Unity Needed Against
Enemy At Home

Duplessis, the local tyrant, most active in dividing of Quebec from the rest of Canada, is gone. The enemy that now faces the workers and farmers of Quebec is the same enemy that faces the exploited masses of the rest of Canada.

Yes, a step towards unity has been achieved. But it is not the step that our Bosses visualise. It is a step towards unity AGAINST THE WAR AND AGAINST THE BOSSES. And it should come as a surprise to no revolutionist that Quebec may be first to raise the banner against war. It is our task to see that the banner is raised and the battle fought, not only AGAINST WAR but FOR SOCIALISM.

SUPPORT GROWS FOR ANTI-WAR MILITANT

(concluded from page 3,col.2)

The Committee still urgently needs funds, despite the gratifying response. The Appeal will be heard on November 28th. Redoubled publicity efforts are necessary before that date, and it is possible that, if the fine is sustained by the appeal magistrate, the committee will need to remain in activity in order to raise funds to meet the fine and so reduce Watson's sentence by six months at least. If this is not possible the Committee is prepared to extend its activities to the defence of other worthy cases arising out of the War Measures Act, or to divert the balance remaining in its treasury, if any, to some other accreditted organization which is carrying on similar activity in behalf of civil liberty.

* * * * * *

SEND FUNDS TO:
M.G.DAWSON,
246 COLLEGE ST
TORONTO, ONT.
(Sec'y-Treas.)

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DEMAND RELEASE OF FRANK WATSON

* * * *

----FLASH----

As we go to press we learn that the appeal court has refused to release Frank Watson or reduce the penalty. As part of its case, the prosecution produced in court a leaflet issued by the Socialist Workers' League protesting the conviction of Watson. Watson testified from the box that in his anti-war speech he had condemned fascism, scored the Stalin-Hitler pact as a "betrayal of the workers of the world" and called on workers to organize in their trade unions to defend their civil rights and standard of living.

The fight to secure the freedom of Watson must go on. The release of Watson will be the first step in regaining the democratic rights torn from the workers by the Canadian warlords.

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INVASION OF FINLAND

(concluded from page 6)

workers to its own ends, and consciously gives up the struggle for the world revolution in order to maintain itself in power. At the same time, however, with arms in hand we must stand ready to protect the new workers state established by the Revolution. The revolution wiped out private property and socialized industry and the land. This planned economy has yet to be achieved in the other countries of the world and must be protected where it is already in existence.

Being for the protection of the Soviet Union against the capitalists, we are accordingly for the victory of the Soviet forces in Finland and believe that the advanced workers in Finland should do everything in their power to ensure such a victory. Once the victory of the Red Army is achieved then the workers can settle accounts with the Stalinist bureaucracy The workers cannot rely on the capitalist armies to vanquish the bureaucracy for them; this is the task that the workers will perform themselves.

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DEMAND REPEAL OF SEC. 39 & 39A
OF DEFENCE OF CANADA REGULATIONS

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****FIGHT AGAINST THIS BOSS WAR****

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Editorial:

THE WAR NOBODY WANTS

(concluded from page 8)

as a whole, implacably against London-Paris-Washington as against Berlin-Moscow--that must and will in the end triumph. And the immediate fight of the third camp here must go head on against Moore-Mosher-Burford as well as the Tim Bucks.

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WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!
YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE
BUT YOUR CHAINS,
AND A WORDD TO GAIN